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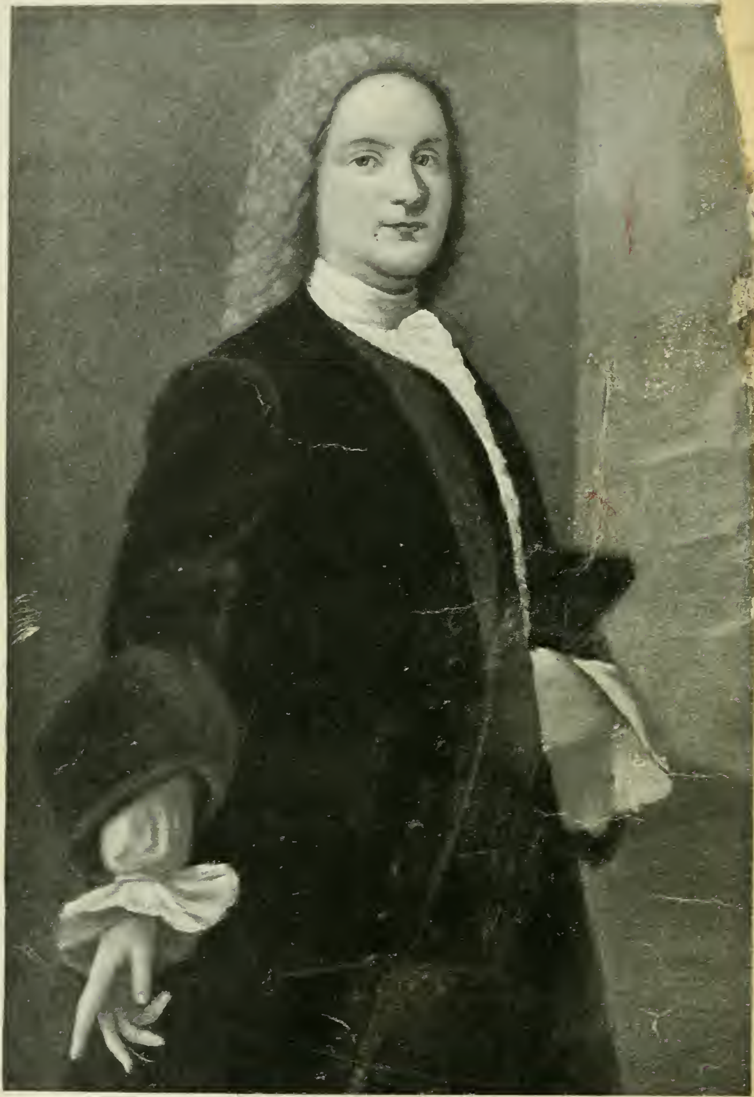

PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ABOUT 1726.
Original in Harvard Memorial Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

THE
MANY-SIDED FRANKLIN

BY

PAUL LEICESTER FORD

AUTHOR OF "JANICE MEREDITH," "THE HONORABLE PETER
STIRLING," "THE STORY OF AN UNTOLD LOVE,"
AND "THE TRUE GEORGE WASHINGTON"

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TO

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,
FOUNDED BY FRANKLIN,

AND NOW THE DEPOSITORY OF THE MOST VALUABLE
PART OF HIS MANUSCRIPTS,

AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE PERSONAL OBLIGATION OF
THE AUTHOR,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

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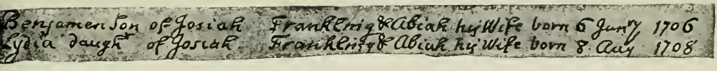
THE
MANY-SIDED FRANKLIN



Benjamen Son of Josiah Franklin & Abiah his Wife born 6 Janry 1706
Lydia daughtr of Josiah Franklin & Abiah his Wife born 8 Aug 1708

FACSIMILE OF ENTRY OF FRANKLIN'S BIRTH IN BOSTON TOWN RECORDS.

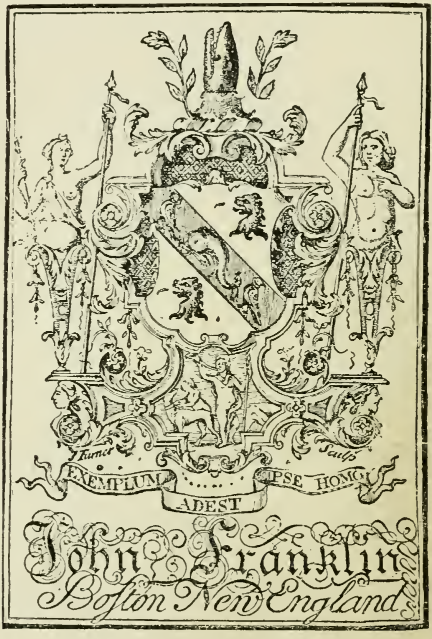
THE MANY-SIDED FRANKLIN

I

FAMILY RELATIONS

"A MAN," wrote Franklin, "who makes boast of his ancestors doth but advertise his own insignificance, for the pedigrees of great men are commonly known"; and elsewhere he advised: "Let our fathers and grandfathers be valued for *their* goodness, ourselves for our own." Clearly this objection extended to pride of birth alone, and not to knowledge of one's forebears; for Franklin himself displayed not a little interest in his progenitors, and when he went to England as the agent of his colony he devoted both time and travel to searching out the truth concerning them. Nor was he, in fact, wholly without conceit of family. In default of discovered greatness in his kindred, he expressed pleasure in an inference that the family name was derived from the old social order of small freeholders, and, therefore, that they were once the betters of the yeomen and feudatories.

Still another fact, too, suggests that he was not wholly indifferent to the world's knowledge of his lineage. Though his father questioned if they were entitled to use either of the Franklin arms, and added that "our circumstances have been such as that it hath hardly been worth while to concern ourselves much about these things any farther than to tickle the fancy a little," Benjamin did not hesitate to appropriate one of the Franklin coats of arms while yet only a master printer, for as early as 1751 he advertised:



BOOK-PLATE OF JOHN FRANKLIN.
Original in the possession of C. R. Lichtenstein, Boston.

"Lost about 5 weeks since, a silver seal, with a Coat of Arms engrav'd, containing two Lions Heads, two Doves and a Dolphin. Whoever brings it to the Post-Office, shall have Five Shillings reward."

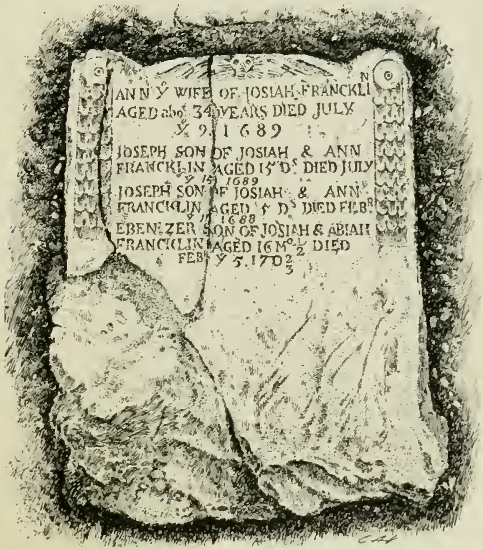
Furthermore, in adopting this heraldic badge, he made objection to its being cheapened, by telling a soap-making relative that he "would not have him put the Franklin arms on" his cakes, although he did not mind a brother in the same business using the escutcheon as a book-plate.

Franklin's inquiry into the history of his family resulted in the discovery that they had dwelt on some thirty acres of their own land in the village of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, upward of three hundred years, and that for many generations the eldest son had been village blacksmith—a custom so established previous to the removal across the Atlantic that the first immigrant bred up his eldest son to the trade in Boston. Fate, having other uses for Benjamin, carefully guarded him from Vulcan's calling by making him the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations.

Josiah Franklin came to New England about 1685, with Ann, his wife, and three children, a number which swelled to seven within the next four years, the mother dying in childbed in 1689. Less than six months later the widower married Abiah Folger, and to this union there were born ten children, making in all seventeen. Writing of the large birth-rate in the colonies, Franklin asserted that it was rare for more than half of each family to reach adult life—a statement not derived from personal experience; for, "out of seventeen children that our father had, thirteen lived to grow up and settle in the world." In common with other New England families of that day, the stock seemed to be weakened by this redundancy: though Josiah was one of five brothers, and the father of ten sons, there was not, when the eighteenth century ended, a single descendant of any one of the fifteen entitled to the surname.

Benjamin, the "tithe," or tenth, of Josiah's sons, born January 6, 1706, outlived them all. From his father he derived a heritage difficult to measure, but two of his qualities were singled out by the son as specially noteworthy: "a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and publick affairs," and a "mechanic genius" in being "very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools." "It was indeed a lowly dwelling we were brought up in," wrote one of the children, many years after, "but we were fed plentifully, made comfortable with fire and clothing, had seldom any contention among us, but all was harmony, especially between the heads, and they were universally respected, and the most of the family in good reputation; this is still happier living than multitudes enjoy."

As this might indicate, Josiah Franklin, despite his struggle with poverty and his huge family, was a good parent to his youngest boy, giving heed to his moral, mental, and temporal beginnings. After such brief term of school as he could afford the lad, he took him into his own shop, till Ben made obvious his dislike to the cutting of wicks, the hanging of dips, and the casting of soap. Taking pains then to discover his son's preferences, he finally apprenticed him as printer's devil to his son James. When the brothers quarreled, and appeal was made to the father, "judgment," the prentice says, "was generally in my favour." And though

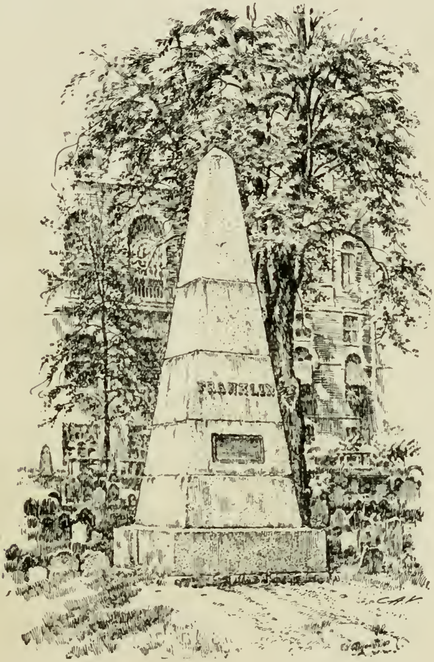

ANN Yᵉ WIFE OF JOSIAH FRANCKLIN
AGED abᵒᵗ 34 YEARS DIED JULY
Yᵉ 9 1689
JOSEPH SON OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN AGED 15 Dˢ DIED JULY
Yᵉ 15 1689
JOSEPH SON OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN AGED 5 Dˢ DIED FEBᴿ
Yᵉ 11 1688
EBENEZER SON OF JOSIAH & ABIAH
FRANCKLIN AGED 16 Mᵒ ½ DIED
FEBʸ Yᵉ 5 1702/3

ANN FRANKLIN'S GRAVESTONE.
Granary Burying-ground, Boston.

Ben earned his own livelihood from the time that he was twelve years of age, and saw his father only three times after he was sixteen, wherever he speaks of him it is with affection and respect. When he wrote to him, the letters began, "Honored Father," and ended, "I am your dutiful son," or "I am your affectionate and dutiful son"; while Josiah Franklin, in turn, began his letters, "Loving Son," and ended one, "With hearty love." More warmly still the son spoke of his father and mother in a letter to his sister, whom he chided because "you have mentioned nothing in your letter of our dear parents," writing again, during the final illness of his father: "Dear Sister, I love you tenderly for your care of our father in his sickness." Josiah Franklin died in 1745, leaving an estate valued at twenty-four hundred dollars.

In Franklin's autobiography there is only the barest mention of his mother, Abiah, and merely as the daughter of "one of the first settlers of New England." Presumably this silence was due to the eighteenth-century attitude toward women more than to any want of affection, for the two corresponded with regularity, even after the mother was "very weak and short of breath—so that I cannot sit up to write altho' I sleep well o' nights and my cough is better and I have a pretty good stomach to my victuals," and she had to beg her son to "please excuse my bad writeing and inditing for all tell me I am too old to write letters." To her Franklin sent gifts of various kinds, including "a moidore . . . which please to accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter." Upon her death, in 1752, he wrote his sister Jane: "I received yours with the affecting news of our dear mother's death. I thank you for your long continued care of her in her old age and sickness. Our distance made it impracticable for us to attend her, but you have supplied all. She has lived a good life, as well as long one, and is happy."

Franklin paid for the stone which marked the grave of his parents, and wrote for it an inscription which vouched that "He was a pious and prudent man; She a discreet and virtuous woman"; and though elsewhere he cites the conventional epitaph as the extreme form of falsehood, he was certainly justified in this inscription. "Honor thy father and mother—i. e. live so as to be an honor to them tho' they are dead," he made



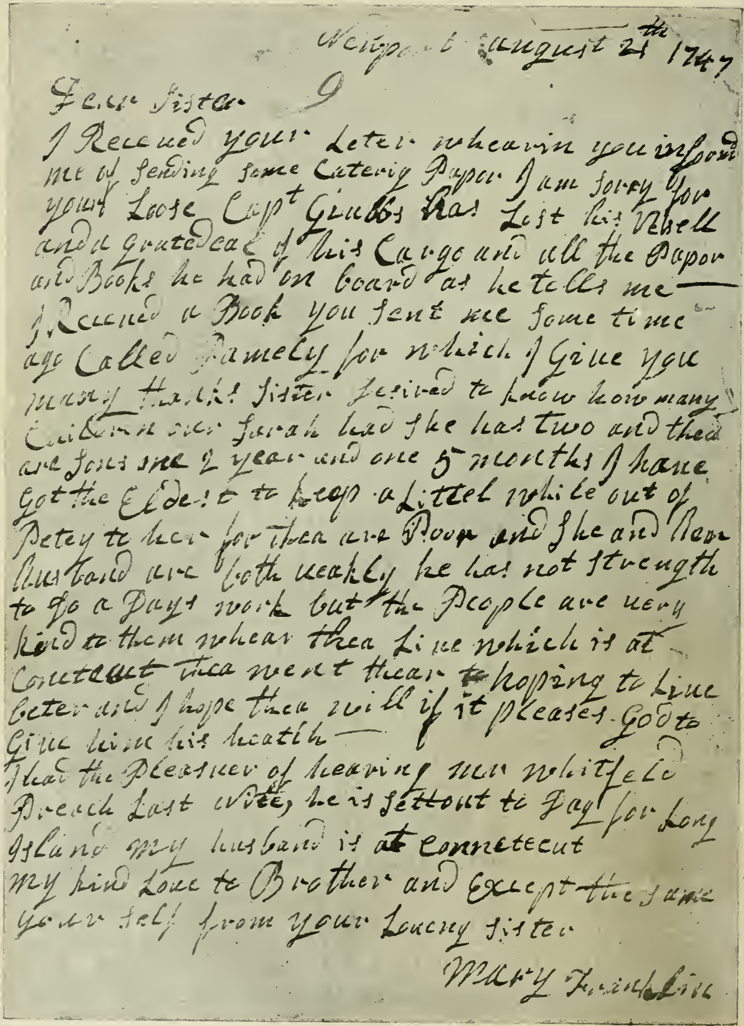
FRANKLIN'S MONUMENT TO HIS PARENTS.
Granary Burying-ground, Boston.

Poor Richard advise his readers, and for once preacher and practiser were united.

> "Among the Chinese," he noted, with approval, "the most ancient, and from long experience the wisest of nations, honor does not *descend*, but *ascends*. If a man, from his learning, his wisdom, or his valor, is promoted by the emperor to the rank of Mandarin, his parents are immediately entitled to all the same ceremonies of respect from the people that are established as due to the Mandarin himself; on the supposition that it must have been owing to the education, instruction, and good example afforded him by his parents, that he was rendered capable of serving the public."

Of his relations with the sixteen brothers and sisters it is impossible to deal with any fullness. Four of the brothers died young, and a fifth, taking to the sea, was so little an element in the family life that Benjamin remembered "thirteen (some of us then very young) all at one table, when an entertainment was made at our house on the occasion of the return of our brother Josiah, who had been absent in the East Indies and unheard of for nine years." If this brother, who soon after was lost at sea, was apparently a small component in Franklin's life, he none the less influenced it materially, since from him the youngster imbibed a keen desire to be a sailor, and his father's fear that he would run away was a potent motive for letting the boy leave the trade of soap-making.

As already mentioned, Benjamin did not get on well with the half-brother to whom he was bound to learn printing. James Franklin was only ten years older than his apprentice, and very quickly the boy made himself as expert as his brother, who, if we are to believe Franklin, turned jealous, and on occasion beat him with unnecessary severity; though, in charging that his master was passionate, the printer's boy confessed that he himself was saucy and provoking. James Franklin was forbidden presently by the government to print his newspaper, the "New England Courant," and it was continued, by a subterfuge, in Benjamin's name, the indenture being canceled to make the trick a little less barefaced. Availing himself of this technical release, Franklin left his brother's service—an act that he later acknowledged to be his first serious "erratum," and one which set James Franklin to advertising for "A Likely Lad for an Apprentice," little recking how likely a lad he had lost. For a number of years the breach thus made continued to exist, though the mother urged reconciliation on them both. After James Franklin's death, a turn of Fortune's wheel led Franklin to take the eldest son of this brother as an apprentice; and though he records that "Jemmy Franklin when with me was always dissatisfied and grumbling," yet from the moment the apprenticeship was over "he and I" became "Good friends." He helped the boy to establish himself as a printer at New Haven, and again at Newport, sent him occasional gifts of paper, printing-ink, etc., and loaned him money to the extent of over two hundred pounds to buy types and a stock of books and stationery. That the old grudge was forgotten is proved, too, by Franklin's will, in which he left as much to the descendants of James Franklin as to the descendants of his other brothers and sisters. He seems, indeed, to have hated family broils or aliena-



Newport August 21th 1747

9

Dear Sister

I Receued your Leter wheairin you inform me of Sending some Catering Paper I am sorey for your Loose Capt Grubbs has Lost his Vesell and a grate deal of his Cargo and all the Papor and Books he had on board as he tells me—

I Receued a Book you sent me some time ago Called Pamela for which I Giue you many thanks Sister Desired to know how many Children our Sarah had she has two and thea are Sons one 2 year and one 5 months I haue Got the Eldest to keep a Littel while out of Petey to her for thea are Poor and She and her Husband are both weakly he has not Strength to Do a Days work but the People are very kind to them whear thea Liue which is at Conetecut thea went thear ~~to~~ hoping to Liue beter and I hope thea will if it pleases God to Giue him his health—

I had the Pleasuer of hearing mr whitfeld Preach Last week he is settout to Day for Long Island my husband is at Connetecut

my kind Loue to Brother and Except the same your self from your Louing sister

Mary Franklin

LETTER OF MARY FRANKLIN.
In American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

tion, and when a sister once appealed to him to espouse her side of a disagreement, he replied:

> "If I were to set myself up as a judge . . . between you and your brother's widow and children, how unqualified must I be, at this distance, to determine rightly, especially having heard but one side. They always treated me with friendly and affectionate regard; you have done the same. What can I say between you, but that I wish you were reconciled, and that I will love that side best that is most ready to forgive and oblige the other? You will be angry with me here, for putting you and them too much upon a footing; but I shall nevertheless be, dear sister, your truly affectionate brother."

More direct aid was afforded his two own brothers, John and Peter, both of whom set out in life in their father's trade of soap- and candle-making. Although Benjamin objected to their stamping the Franklin arms on their cakes of soap, he ordered quantities of their wares from them both, which his wife retailed in his book-shop in Philadelphia, and increased the sale by recurrent advertisements in Franklin's paper, which announced with each consignment:

> "Just imported, another Parcel of
>
> "SUPER FINE CROWN SOAP.
>
> "It cleanses fine Linens, Muslins, Laces, Chinces, Cambricks &c. with Ease and Expedition, which often suffer more from the long and hard Rubbing of the Washer, through the ill Qualities of the Soap they use, than the Wearing. It is excellent for the Washing of Scarlets, or any other bright and curious Colours, that are apt to change by the Use of common Soap. The Sweetness of the Flavor and the fine Lather it immediately produces, renders it pleasant for the Use of Barbers. It is cut in exact and equal Cakes neatly put up, and sold at the New Printing Office, at 1s. per Cake."

Neither brother, however, seems to have prospered in the business, for when Franklin became Deputy Postmaster-General he made John postmaster of Boston, and Peter postmaster of Philadelphia. Of the former Franklin says, in his autobiography, that "he always lov'd me"; and though there was some family joking about Peter's perpetual doctoring of himself, so that "he cures himself many times a day," Benjamin seems to have been fond of him also, showing evident grief when "it pleased God at length to take from us my only remaining brother." He aided the two widows, establishing one in business, and continuing the other as postmistress, thus making her, so far as is known, the first woman to hold public office in America.

"He that has neither fools nor beggars among his kindred, is the son of thunder-gust," remarked Poor Richard; and Franklin's sisters were no more prosperous in life than were his brothers. The eldest, Elizabeth, when over eighty years old, came to extreme poverty, and her relatives consulted the only successful member of the family as to whether her house and "fine things" should be sold.

> "As *having their own way* is one of the greatest comforts of life to old people," Benjamin replied, "I think their friends should endeavour to accommodate them in that, as well as in any thing else. When they have long lived in a house, it becomes natural to them; they are almost as closely connected with it as the tortoise with his shell; they die, if you tear them out of it; old folks and old trees, if you remove them, it is ten to one that you kill them; so let our good old sister be no more importuned on that head. We are growing old fast ourselves, and shall expect the same kind of indulgences; if we give them, we shall have a right to receive them in our turn. And

as to her few fine things, I think she is in the right not to sell them, and for the reason she gives, that they will fetch but little; when that little is spent, they would be of no further use to her; but perhaps the expectation of possessing them at her death may make that person tender and careful of her, and helpful to her to the amount of ten times their value. If so, they are put to the best use they possibly can be."

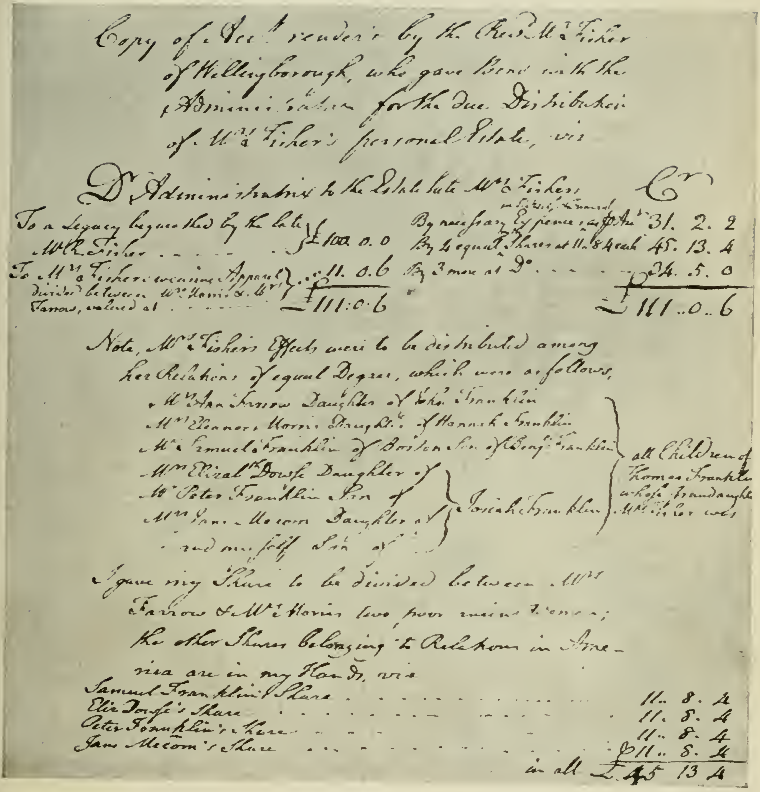
A small bequest was made in Franklin's will to his sister Ann's children and grandchildren. Several of these drifted to London before the Revolution, and appealed to their uncle, when he came to France, for various kinds of assistance. One was "Obliged to Worke very hard and Can But just git the common necessarys of life," and therefore has "thoughts of going into a family as housekeeper . . . having lived in that station for several years and gave grate satisfaction." She sought his aid in securing the promotion of her son, then in the British navy—a peculiar request, considering Franklin's relations, or lack of relations, at the moment, with the British government. Toward another, Jonathan Williams, the uncle seems to have been well disposed. He took charge of his education while in London, made the young fellow his secretary for a time, and finally was instrumental in having him made commercial agent of the United States in France during the Revolution, an appointment which caused first "oblique Censures," and ultimately outspoken denunciations. Williams was accused of dishonesty, and his uncle promptly wrote:

"I have no desire to screen Mr. Williams on account of his being my nephew; if he is guilty of what you charge him with, I care not how soon he is deservedly punished and the family purged of him; for I take it that a rogue living in a family is a greater disgrace to it than *one hanged* out of it."

Fortunately, the nephew was able to clear himself; but the appointment had caused scandal, and had been one source of the American divisions in Paris, as well as in the Continental Congress. Another unfortunate result was that Williams later became embarrassed in some private ventures in France, and Franklin unjustifiably used the influence of his position to secure from the French government a *surséance* as regarded his creditors.

Franklin's sister Sarah died shortly after marriage—"a loss without doubt regretted by all who knew her, for she was a good woman." Her husband, Josiah Davenport, encouraged by his brother-in-law, removed to Philadelphia, and opened a bakery, where he sold "Choice middling bisket," varied by occasional offerings of "Boston loaf sugar" and "choice pickled and spiced Oisters in Cags." One of her sons, on the death of Peter Franklin, was appointed by his uncle postmaster of Philadelphia; but he does not appear to have been competent, and was soon superseded by another appointee, and given a smaller office under the government.

Of all his sisters, the youngest, Jane, was, so Franklin told her, "ever my peculiar favorite"; and he took pride in the news that she had "grown a celebrated beauty." Evidently it was not merely a fraternal view, for the girl was married at fifteen, the brother writing her, upon the event, that he had "almost determined"



Copy of Acct. render'd by the Revd. Mr. Fisher
of Wellingborough, who gave Bond with the
Administration for the due Distribution
of Mrs. Fisher's personal Estate, viz

Dr. Administratrix to the Estate late Mrs. Fisher, Cr.

To a Legacy bequeathed by the late Mr. Fisher	£100. 0. 0	By necessary Expences, in Sickness & Funeral as pr Acct.	31. 2. 2
To Mrs. Fisher's wearing Apparel divided between Mrs. Morris & Mrs. Farrow, valued at	11. 0. 6	By 4 equal Shares at 11..8..4 each	45. 13. 4
		By 3 more at Do.	34. 5. 0
	£111:0:6		£111..0..6

Note, Mrs. Fisher's Effects were to be distributed among
her Relations of equal Degree, which were as follows,
Mrs. Ann Farrow Daughter of Thos. Franklin
Mrs. Eleanor Morris Daughtr. of Hannah Franklin
Mr. Samuel Franklin of Boston Son of Benjn. Franklin
Mrs. Elizabeth Dowse Daughter of
Mr. Peter Franklin Son of
Mrs. Jane Mecom Daughter of
and myself Son of
Josiah Franklin
all Children of Thomas Franklin whose Grandaughter Mrs. Fisher was

I gave my Share to be divided between Mrs.
Farrow & Mrs. Morris two poor Women;
the other Shares belonging to Relations in Ame-
rica are in my Hands, viz

Samuel Franklin's Share	11.. 8. 4
Eliz. Dowse's Share	11. 8. 4
Peter Franklin's Share	11.. 8. 4
Jane Mecom's Share	£11.. 8. 4
in all	£45 13 4

FAMILY ACCOUNT IN FRANKLIN'S WRITING.
In the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

to send her "a tea table, but when I considered the character of a good house wife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a *spinning wheel*, which I hope you will accept as a small token of my sincere love and affection." And in this monitory strain the aged brother of twenty continued:

> "Sister, farewell, and remember that modesty as it makes the most homely virtue amiable and charming, so the want of it infallibly renders the most perfect beauty disagreeable and odious. But when that brightest of female virtues shines among other perfections of body and mind in the same person, it makes the woman more lovely than an angel. Excuse this freedom, and use the same with me. I am, dear Jenny, Your loving brother."

A very large progeny resulted from this marriage, in all of whom Franklin took an interest. "My compliments to my new niece, Miss Abiah, and pray her to accept the enclosed piece of gold, to cut her teeth; it may afterwards buy nuts for them to crack," he wrote of one arrival; and gave material help to the children as they grew up, aiding one to sell the soap he made; taking a second as an apprentice in his printing-office, and afterward assisting in his establishment in that business; endeavoring to get a government position for a third; and, on the marriage of a fourth, sending a gift of "fifty pounds, lawful money," to be laid out in "furniture as my sister shall think proper." From this niece he received an exuberant acknowledgment, declaring that:

> "My Heart, has ever been suseptible of the warmest gratitude for your frequent Benefactions to the whole Family, but your

last *kind*, unexpected, as well as undiserved, Noble presents in particular to me, calls for a particular acknowledgment from me. Except then dearest sir, my most sincere and hearty Thanks, with a promise, that your Kindness shall ever be gratefully remembered and your donation be made the best use of."

Jane herself carried this admiration even to the point of veneration; yet when absent from her brother she expressed her regret, having "had time to reflect and see my error, in that I suffered my diffidence or the awe of your superiority to prevent the familiarity I might have taken with you, and which your kindness to me might have convinced me would be acceptable." With extreme reverence she wrote to Franklin that "it is not Profanity to compare you to our Blessed Saviour who Employed much of his time while on Earth in doing good to the body's as well as souls of men & I am shure I think the compareson just."

This adoration is the more excusable when Franklin's services to her are weighed. Her husband's death left her a large family to rear, and but for Benjamin's constant eking out of her means it wou'd have fared hard with the widow. She told her brother that her happiness was derived from "yr Bounty without wich I must have been distressed as much as many others," and assured him that she could not "find expression suitable to acknowledge my gratitude; how I am by my dear brother enabled to live at ease in my old age." "My self and children have always been a tax upon you," she wrote to him, "but your great and uncommon goodness has carried you cheerfully under it." Nor was Franklin's charity an enforced one.

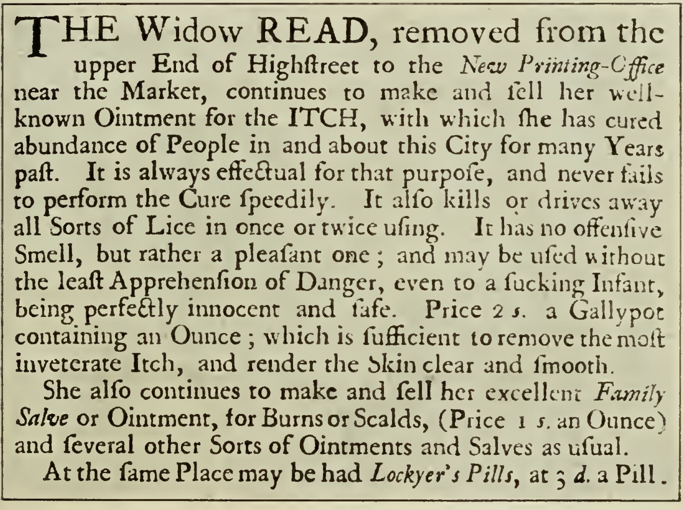
> "You always tell me that you live comfortably," he chided, "but I sometimes suspect that you may be too unwilling to acquaint me with any of your difficulties, from an apprehension of giving me pain. I wish you would let me know precisely your situation, that I may better proportion my assistance to your wants. . . . Lest you should be straightened during the present winter I send you fifty dollars."

And not satisfied that she acknowledged all her needs, he questioned other relatives:

> "How has my poor old sister gone through the winter? Tell me frankly whether she lives comfortably or is pinched. I am afraid she is too cautious of acquainting me of her difficulties, though I am always ready and willing to relieve her, when I am acquainted with them."

Jane and Benjamin outlived all their brothers and sisters, and Franklin, upon the death of one of the last, said to her: "Of these thirteen there now remain but three. As our number diminishes, let our affection to each other rather increase." In one of her later letters the sister recurred to this, writing: "You once told me, my dear brother, that as our number of brethren and sisters lessened the affection of those of us that remained should increase to each other. You and I are now left; my affection for you has always been so great I see no room for increase, and you have manifested yours for me in such large measure that I have no reason to suspect its strength." Jane Mecom alone of Josiah Franklin's seventeen children survived the famous son, and in his will Franklin left to her "a house and lot I have in Unity Street, Boston," gave her "the yearly sum of fifty pounds sterling," and left a small sum of money to her descendants.

"He who takes a wife, takes care," runs an aphorism that Poor Richard thought fit to embody in his Almanac; and Franklin, from his own experience, might have added, with the humorous quirk he so often used, "of his wife's relatives." When he took unto himself a helpmeet, he brought to live with them her mother, who henceforth conducted her trade at his printing-shop, making known to her customers, through advertisements in her son-in-law's newspaper, that "The Widow Read [had] removed from the upper end of High-street, to the New Printing Office near the Market," where she sold "ointments" for various ills that might have been avoided by a better patronage of the Franklin "crown soap."



THE Widow READ, removed from the upper End of Highſtreet to the *New Printing-Office* near the Market, continues to make and ſell her well-known Ointment for the ITCH, with which ſhe has cured abundance of People in and about this City for many Years paſt. It is always effectual for that purpoſe, and never fails to perform the Cure ſpeedily. It alſo kills or drives away all Sorts of Lice in once or twice uſing. It has no offenſive Smell, but rather a pleaſant one; and may be uſed without the leaſt Apprehenſion of Danger, even to a ſucking Infant, being perfectly innocent and ſafe. Price 2 *s.* a Gallypot containing an Ounce; which is ſufficient to remove the moſt inveterate Itch, and render the Skin clear and ſmooth.

She alſo continues to make and ſell her excellent *Family Salve* or Ointment, for Burns or Scalds, (Price 1 *s.* an Ounce) and ſeveral other Sorts of Ointments and Salves as uſual.

At the ſame Place may be had *Lockyer's Pills*, at 3 *d.* a Pill.

On the death of Mrs. Read, he wrote his wife:

"I condole with you most sincerely on the death of our good mother, being extremely sensible of the distress and affliction it must have thrown you into. Your comfort will be, that no care was wanting on your part towards her, and that she had lived as long as this life could afford her any rational enjoyment. It is, I am sure, a satisfaction to me, that I cannot charge myself with having ever failed in one instance of duty and respect to her during the many years that she called me son."

A brother and sister of his wife also lived for a time with Franklin, and he aided the former to get a government office. There was some friction, however, with another of her relatives. At first Franklin told him that his "visits never had but one thing disagreeable in them; that is they are always too short"; but presently "Jemmy" Read endeavored to get a "small office from me, which I took . . . amiss," and they ceased to be "on speaking terms," while the ill feeling was deepened by Franklin's becoming the agent to enforce a business contract in which Read proved to be delinquent, if not dishonest.

Franklin's eldest son, William, was born out of wedlock, but so far as lay within the father's power he repaired the wrong to which, separated from the influence of both father and mother, the young fellow had let his "hard-to-be-governed passion of youth" lead him. The boy was reared in Franklin's home, being openly acknowledged and treated as a son. A friend who saw much of the family declared that "his father . . . is at the same time his friend, his brother, his intimate, and easy companion," a systematic kindness for which William Franklin thanked his father, saying:

"I am extremely obliged to you for your Care in supplying me with Money, and shall ever have a grateful Sense of that with the other numberless Indulgences I have received from your paternal Affection." A pleasant glimpse of one parental indulgence is revealed by an advertisement in the father's newspaper:

> "Stray'd, about two Months ago, from the Northern Liberties of this City, a small bay Mare, branded IW on the near Shoulder and Buttock. She being but little and barefootted, cannot be supposed to be gone far; therefore if any of the Town-Boys find her and bring her to the Subscriber, they shall, for their Trouble, have the Liberty to ride her when they please, from
>
> "WILLIAM FRANKLIN.
>
> "Philad. June 17. 1742."

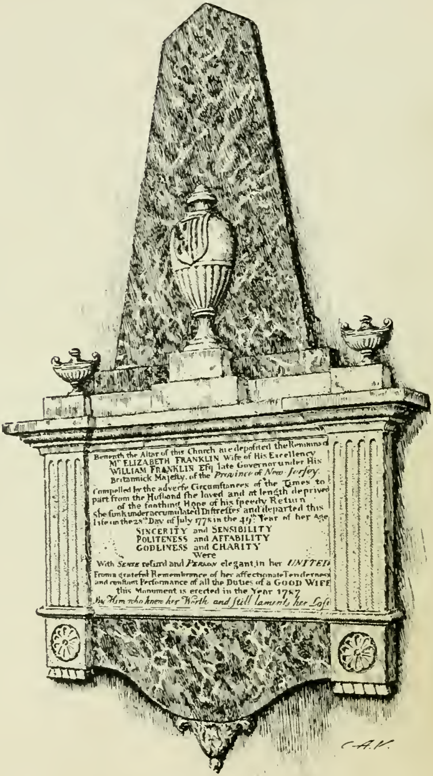
As the lad grew up, the parent came to take positive pride in him, writing: "Will is now nineteen years of age, a tall, proper youth, and much of a beau." This opinion was echoed by William Strahan, who declared: "Your son I really think one of the prettiest young gentlemen I ever knew from America," proving that Franklin's praise was not wholly due to the parental fondness satirized in Poor Richard's lines:

"Where yet was ever found the mother
Who 'd change her booby for another?"

As soon as William was old enough, Franklin obtained for him a commission in the provincial forces, in which he served till "peace cut off his prospect of advancement in that way." Through the same influence he was then made postmaster of Philadelphia, and next clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, meantime having been entered as a student of law at the

GOVERNOR WILLIAM FRANKLIN, BY FLAXMAN.
From a medallion in possession of Sir J. Lumsden Propert.

Inns of Court in London. When he accompanied his father to England, in 1757, to complete his title to practise as a barrister, Franklin sought to bring about a marriage between him and Miss Mary Stevenson, an English girl to whom he himself became much attached during this visit. The son, however, chose otherwise, and finally, with his father's "consent and approbation," he married, so Franklin states, "a very agreeable West Indian lady." Meantime, William Franklin had secured the appointment as governor of New Jersey, a selection much disrelished at first by the province, and which, it has been suggested, was given to the son in the hope of winning the father to the government side. This, it is needless to say, it did not effect; but it at least served to seduce the son, and as the rift between the mother-country and the colonies widened, the father accused him of having become "a thorough government man." When the English government removed Franklin from his postmaster-generalship, in 1774, he appealed to the son to resign his office; and on his refusal to resent the disgrace which his superiors had sought to inflict on the father, the latter wrote to him bitterly: "You who are a thorough courtier, see everything with government eyes." William's loyalty to the English government resulted not only in a complete break with his father, and in his imprisonment by the Continental Congress as an active and dangerous Tory, but forced him eventually to leave America and take up his residence in England. On the conclusion of peace, a feeble attempt at a renewal of the old-time relation was made. Franklin wrote his son: "I am glad to find you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It would be very agreeable to me; indeed, nothing has hurt me so much, and filled me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune, and life were all at stake." Yet, in expressing his sorrow thus


Beneath the Altar of this Church are depoſited the Remains o
Mrs ELIZABETH FRANKLIN Wife of His Excellency
WILLIAM FRANKLIN Eſq late Governor under His
Britannick Majeſty. of the Province of New-Jerſey.
Compelled by the adverſe Circumſtances of the Times to
part from the Huſband ſhe loved and at length deprived
of the ſoothing Hope of his ſpeedy Return
She ſunk under accumulated Diſtreſſes and departed this
life on the 28th Day of July 1778 in the 49th Year of her Age
SINCERITY and SENSIBILITY
POLITENESS and AFFABILITY
GODLINESS and CHARITY
Were
With Senſe refin'd and Perſon elegant, in her UNITED
From a grateful Remembrance of her affectionate Tenderneſs
and conſtant Performance of all the Duties of a GOOD WIFE
this Monument is erected in the Year 1787
By Him who knew her Worth and ſtill laments her Loſs
C.A.V.

MEMORIAL TABLET TO MRS. WILLIAM FRANKLIN.
In the chancel of St. Paul's Church, New York.

strongly, the father added: "I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiment with me in public affairs," and "I should be glad to see you when convenient."

The two met for a brief moment at Southampton, in 1785, when Franklin was returning from France to America. But the endeavor to revive the old relation seems to have been unsuccessful; they never made further attempts to see each other, and in Franklin's will, drawn up three years after this meeting, though he left his son certain property in Nova Scotia, he stated: "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavoured to deprive me of."

The affection which Franklin no longer gave to his son he transferred to William's illegitimate child, assuming from the first the relation of father to him. Under his superintendence the boy was placed at school near London, and during the many years of Franklin's stay in that city he had the lad often to visit him, telling the father, on one occasion: "Temple has been at home with us during the Christmas Vacation from School. He improves continually, and more and more engages the regard of all that are acquainted with him by his pleasing, sensible, manly Behaviour." At another time, in making up an account with William Franklin, and noting that "the heaviest Part is the Maintenance & Education of Temple," the grandfatherly pride expressed itself in the assertion: "But that his friends will not grudge when they see him." On Franklin's return to America, in 1775, he brought the lad with him, and the boy went to live with his father, taking at the same time the family name, in place of that of William Temple—a change pleasing to at least one friend, who wrote Franklin: "I rejoice to hear he has the addition of Franklin, which I always knew he had some right to, and I hope will prove worthy the honorable Appellation."

Temple Franklin, as he was customarily called henceforth, returned soon to live with his grandfather, in order to attend college; but the plan was interfered with by Franklin's being sent to France in 1776, and his desire to have the boy go with him. Once in Paris, the young fellow became Franklin's private secretary, and there are frequent references to him in that capacity in Franklin's letters, as, for instance: "My grandson, whom you may remember when a saucy boy at school," is "my amanuensis in writing the within letter." This employment roused sharp criticism both from Franklin's fellow-commissioners and from members of Congress, based partly on the questionableness of giving the position to a relative, partly on the lad's youthfulness, and partly on the fact that he was the son of an open and avowed Tory. A motion was even offered in Congress that he should be dismissed, which so exasperated Franklin that he declared warmly:

> "I am surprised to hear that my grandson, Temple Franklin, being with me, should be an objection against me, and that there is a cabal for removing him. Methinks it is rather some merit that I have rescued a valuable young man from the danger of being a Tory, and fixed him in honest republican Whig principles; as I think, from the integrity of his disposition, his industry, his early sagacity, and uncommon abilities for business, he may in time become of great service to his country. It is enough that I have lost my *son;* would they add my *grandson?* An old man of seventy, I undertook a winter voyage at the command of the Congress, and for the public service, with no other attendant to take care of me. I am continued here in a foreign country, where, if I am sick, his filial attention comforts me, and if I die, I have a child to

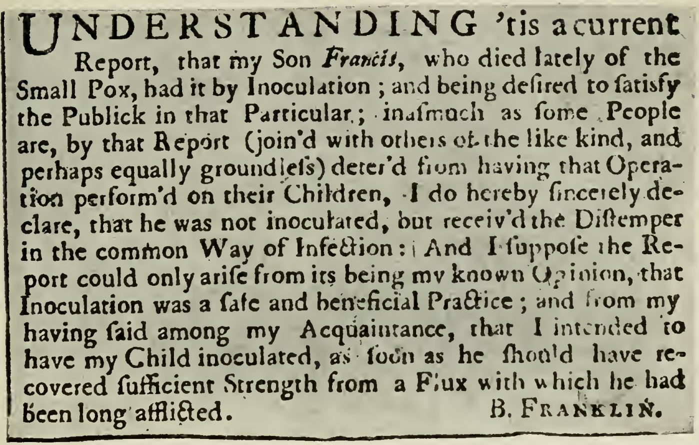
W. T. FRANKLIN ESQ.

WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN.
From a medallion by Flaxman.

close my eyes and take care of my remains. His dutiful behavior towards me, and his diligence and fidelity in business, are both pleasing and useful to me. His conduct, as my private secretary, has been unexceptionable, and I am confident the Congress will never think of separating us."

A mere retention in this minor office did not content Franklin, and he lost no opportunity in endeavoring to secure his grandson political preferment. In 1783 he made personal appeals to each one of the Peace Commissioners to have Temple made secretary of the commission. He wrote to the Continental Congress, asking, "as a favour to me," that the "young gentleman" should be made a secretary of legation, or a *chargé*. To reinforce this application, he wrote to members known to him, making the same request, and Jefferson tells us that "the Doctor" was "extremely wounded by the inattention of Congress to his application for him. He expects something to be done as a reward for his services." Again, he used all his influence to have the grandson made secretary of the Federal Convention in 1787, and was keenly disappointed when that body selected some one else. No sooner was the national government organized than he applied to Washington for some office for the young man, and seriously resented a refusal to gratify his wish. In the meantime he had already in effect purchased and given to Temple his father's farm in New Jersey, valued at four thousand pounds sterling, and in his will he left him other property, including his library, and made him his literary executor.

In Franklin's paper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette," under date of December 13, 1736, appeared the following advertisement:



UNDERSTANDING 'tis a current Report, that my Son *Francis*, who died lately of the Small Pox, had it by Inoculation; and being deſired to ſatisfy the Publick in that Particular; inaſmuch as ſome People are, by that Report (join'd with others of the like kind, and perhaps equally groundleſs) deter'd from having that Operation perform'd on their Children, I do hereby ſincerely declare, that he was not inoculated, but receiv'd the Diſtemper in the common Way of Infection: And I ſuppoſe the Report could only ariſe from its being my known Opinion, that Inoculation was a ſafe and beneficial Practice; and from my having ſaid among my Acquaintance, that I intended to have my Child inoculated, as ſoon as he ſhould have recovered ſufficient Strength from a Flux with which he had been long afflicted. B. FRANKLIN.

The son thus referred to, Francis Folger, who died when only four years of age, seems to have been his father's favorite. Long after, in referring to a grandson, who was declared to be "an uncommonly fine boy," Franklin said that the child "brings often afresh to my mind the idea of my son Franky, though now dead thirty-six years, whom I have seldom since seen equalled in everything, and whom to this day I cannot think of without a sigh."

The last of Franklin's three children was his daughter Sarah, born in 1743, in whom her father took unconcealed pride, assuring his mother that "your granddaughter is the greatest lover of her book and school of any child I ever knew, and is very dutiful to her mistress as well as to us." Half jokingly, Franklin proposed a match, when she was a child of six, between her and the son of his friend William Strahan, and, the offer being accepted in the same vein, he frequently sent word of her progress to "my son-in-law." "Please to acquaint him that his spouse grows finely," he requested, continuing, "and will probably have an agreeable person; that with the best natural disposition in the world, she discovers daily the seeds and tokens of industry, economy, and, in short, of every female virtue, which her parents will endeavour to cultivate for him." Six years later he said: "Our daughter Sally is indeed a very good girl, affectionate, dutiful and industrious, has one of the best hearts, and though not a wit, is, for one of her years, by no means deficient in understanding." The imposed task of cultivating simple habits

FRANCIS FOLGER FRANKLIN.
Younger son of Benjamin Franklin.

of frugality was not an altogether easy one, the girl's mother complaining that "Sally had nothing fit to wear suitable" for the Philadelphia society into which she began to be drawn, while Sally herself wrote "to ask my Papa for some things that I cannot get here . . . 't is some gloves, both white and mourning, the last to be of the largest"; and he seems to have yielded to the double pressure for finery, for the daughter presently thanked him, and said that "nothing was ever more admired than my new gown." Yet at no time did Franklin encourage this desire for dress, and when, in 1779, Sarah asked him to send her some clothes from Paris, he wrote so reprovingly of her extravagance that she replied:

> "But how could my dear Papa give me so severe a reprimand for wishing a little finery. He would not, I am sure, if he knew how much I have felt it. . . . You would have been the last person, I am sure, to have wished to see me dressed with singularity; though I never loved dress so much as to wish to be particularly fine, yet I never will go out when I cannot appear so as to do credit to my family and husband."

Even in death Franklin consistently sought to teach her simplicity and economy, for in bequeathing to his daughter "the king of France's picture, set with four hundred and eight diamonds," which had been presented to him upon his leaving the French court, he requested "that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments, either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country." Throughout his whole life the father endeavored to train his child, in his own words, so that "she will, in the true sense of the word, be *worth* a great deal of money, and, consequently, a great fortune," to her husband.

The match with the Strahan boy never got further than the wishes of the parents, and presently Franklin was notified that his daughter had chosen Richard Bache, a Philadelphia merchant, of whom Franklin knew "very little," but of whom he hoped that "His expectations are not great of any fortune to be had with our daughter before our death"; and then explained:

> "I can only say that if he proves a good husband to her and a good son to me, he shall find me as good a father as I can be; but at present I suppose you would agree with me that we cannot do more than fit her out handsomely in clothes and furniture, not exceeding in the whole five hundred pounds of value. For the rest, they must depend, as you and I did, on their own industry and care, as what remains in our hands will be barely sufficient for our support, and not enough for them, when it comes to be divided at our decease."

Having made this explanation, Franklin left the decision entirely to his wife, who gave her consent to the marriage. Yet the course of true love did not run altogether smoothly, for Bache shortly became bankrupt in his business, upon which the father advised a postponement of the wedding. He was, however, by some influence, speedily won over; but the marriage was not favorably viewed by some, for William Franklin wrote that "Mrs. Franklin became angry with our friends for not approving the match," and there even seems to have been some ill feeling within the family over it.

Once his daughter was wedded, the father was not wholly consistent in compelling the young people to depend entirely on themselves. He gave Bache two hundred pounds toward setting him up in business, very quickly found a berth for him in the post-office,—which ever proved in Franklin's hands to have an elastic capacity as regarded his relatives,—presently made him Deputy Postmaster-General, and for many years let the couple live in his house in Philadelphia,

RICHARD BACHE.
From an original painting by Hoppner, 1790, in possession of Miss Constantia Abert.

"at no expense for rent." Furthermore, when Congress removed Bache from his office of Postmaster-General, and he was compelled once more to start in business, Franklin, with questionable delicacy, considering his official position in France exerted influence to secure him business from various French commercial houses. Mrs. Bache, according to Marbois, took a prominent part in the Revolution "in exertions to rouse the zeal of the Pennsylvania ladies; and she made on this occasion such a happy use of the eloquence which you know she possesses that a large part of the American army was provided with shirts bought with their money or made with their own hands"; and the Frenchman continued: "If there are in Europe any women who need a model of attachment to domestic duties and love for their country, Mrs. Bache may be pointed out to them as such." The Marquis de Chastellux echoed this praise by a reference which spoke of her as "simple in her manners"; "like her respectable father, she possesses his benevolence." She is said, furthermore, to have much resembled Franklin, and was described by Manasseh Cutler, in 1787, as "a very gross and rather homely lady." On Franklin's final return to America, "My son-in-law came in a boat for us; we landed at Market Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door." During the few remaining years of his life the Baches and he made one family, and the father told a friend that "I, too, have got into my niche after being kept out of it twenty-four years by foreign employments," and "am again surrounded by my friends, with a large family of grandchildren about my knees, an affectionate, good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me."

Of the Bache children, the eldest, and his namesake, was the most endeared to Franklin, and even before he had ever seen the boy, his frequent inquiries showed his interest in him; indeed, his American correspondents quickly learned that they could write nothing which would please him more than news of the "Little King Bird," or "your young Hercules," as he was called. "I came to town with Betsey," wrote William Franklin to his father, "in order to stand for my young nephew. He is not so fat and lusty as some children at his time are, but he is altogether a pretty little fellow and improves in his looks every day. Mr. Baynton stood as proxy for you and named Benj'n Franklin and my mother and Betsey were the godmothers." His wife's letters, too, constantly brought the sponsor news of the godchild. Franklin welcomed her news, telling her: "I am much pleased with your little histories of our grandson and happy in thinking how much amusement he must afford you," and confessing that they made "me long to be at home to play with Ben." He rarely failed to send his love to the child, and often "some little things for Benny Boy," and once he complained that "you have so used me to have something pretty about the boy that I am a little disappointed in finding nothing more of him than that he is gone up to Burlington. Pray give me in your next as usual a little of his history." At a dinner in London he reports that "the chief toast of the day was Master Benjamin Bache, which the venerable old lady began in a tumbler of *mountain*. The Bishop's lady politely added, 'And that he may be as good a man as his grandfather.' I said I hoped he would be *much better*. The Bishop, still more complaisant than his lady, said, 'We will compound the matter and be contented if he should not prove *quite so good*.'"

When Franklin went to France in 1776, he took this grandson with him, to "give him a little French language and address." With still other ends in view, so soon as he was settled in Paris, he "sent him to finish his education at Geneva," as "I intend him for a Presbyterian as well as a republican." Here the boy remained four years, and then returned to live with his grandfather, who wrote the mother: "I have had a great deal of pleasure in Ben. He is a good honest lad, and will make, I think, a valuable man." "He gains daily upon my affection," and "we love him very much." Young Bache came to America with his grandfather, and by his aid was established as a printer, Franklin supplying all the equipment for the office, which he left him in his will, together with other property. In his behalf, also, he asked Washington for some public office, an application which, by being refused, shared the same fate as that he had made for his other grandson. It was the common feeling of the time that Franklin had used civil office to serve his family more than to serve the public, and so there was sufficient prejudice to make exclusion of his relatives almost a policy with the new government. This discrimination, in time, led to ill feeling, and eventually Benjamin

MRS. RICHARD BACHE (SARAH FRANKLIN).
Daughter of Benjamin Franklin.

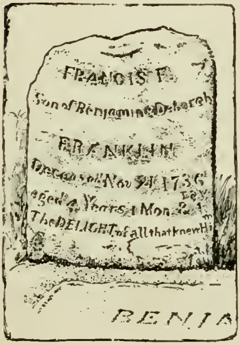
Franklin Bache became the standard-bearer of the journalists who abused Washington.

If Benjamin, from this long intimacy, was his favorite of the Bache children, Franklin was unquestionably fond of them all, though the rest were too young to have been more than playthings to him. In writing of his home toward the end of his life, he described his pleasure in "a dutiful and affectionate daughter, who, together with her husband and six children, compose my family. The children are all promising, and even the youngest, who is but four years old, contributes to my amusement"; and only two years before his death he noted "the addition of a little good-natured girl, whom I begin to love as well as the rest."

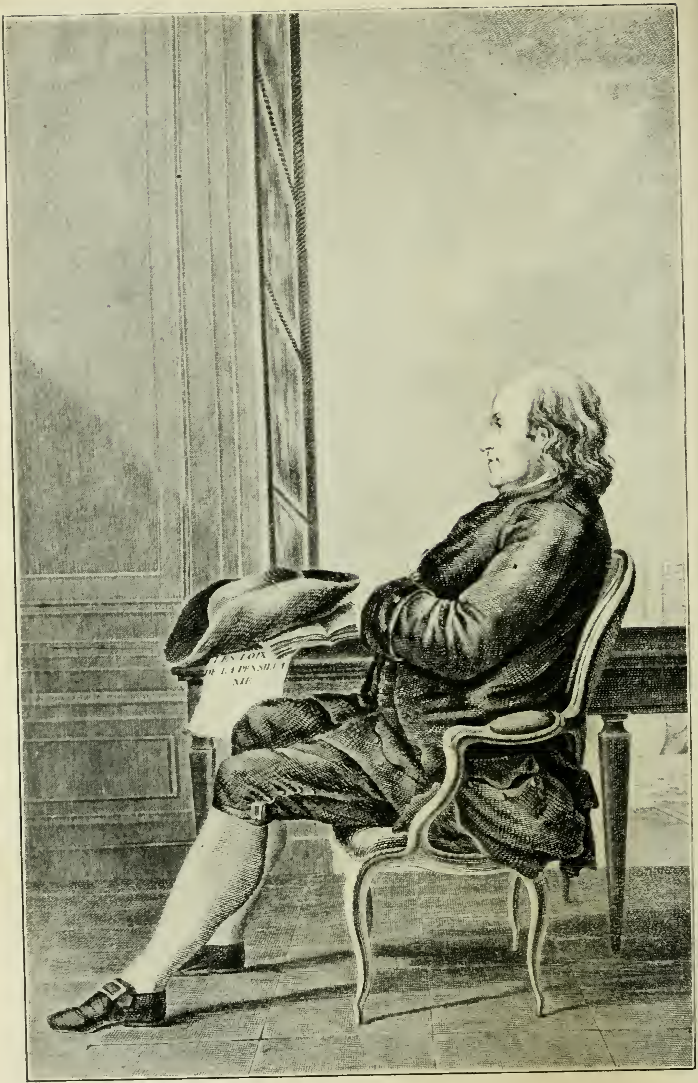
Nor was the affection of the grandfather unreciprocated, one of Franklin's callers recording that Mrs. Bache "had three of her children about her, over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared to be excessively fond of their Grandpapa." Franklin himself tells a story of a child that is worth repeating as showing the grandsire's feeling. His wife had written of Mrs. Bache's over-severe punishment of one of the children, and the husband had replied:

> "It was very prudently done of you not to interfere when his mother thought fit to correct him; which pleased me the more, as I feared, from your fondness of him, that he would be too much humored, and perhaps spoiled. There is a story of two little boys in the street; one was crying bitterly; the other came to him to ask what was the matter. 'I have been,' says he, 'for a pennyworth of vinegar, and I have broken the glass, and spilled the vinegar, and my mother will whip me.' 'No, she won't whip you,' says the other. 'Indeed she will,' says he. 'What,' says the other, 'ha'n't you then got ne'er a grandmother?'"

At seventeen years of age the runaway apprentice had left his family; from that time he saw but little of them. As agent for Pennsylvania, and as minister to France, Franklin was, save for two short home-comings, continuously in Europe from 1757 to 1785, and necessarily separated from his wife, and, except as already narrated, from his children and grandchildren. Yet of all his kith and kin he was undoubtedly truly fond, not merely as relatives, but as companions, and not to one does he seem to have been lacking in interest and kindness.

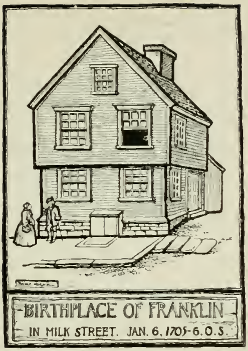


GRAVESTONE OF FRANCIS FOLGER FRANKLIN.
In the Franklin burial plot in Christ Church Cemetery, Philadelphia.



FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

From a copperplate, after a drawing by L. C. de Carmontelle. In the collection of Clarence S. Bement, Esq.


BIRTHPLACE OF FRANKLIN
IN MILK STREET. JAN. 6. 1705-6. O.S.

II

PHYSIQUE: THEORIES AND APPETITES

IN his autobiography Franklin relates that his father "had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong," qualities all inherited by the son. From the maternal side the boy derived "likewise an excellent constitution"; and he asserts that "I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they dy'd, he at 89, and she at 85 years of age."

This heritage of soundness and strength was a large element in the success Franklin achieved. He himself took pride that in the printing-office where he worked during his first London sojourn, "on occasion, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands." After he set up as a printer for himself, he often worked till far into the night, a diligence which led a Philadelphian to remark that "the industry of that Franklin is superior to anything I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from my club, and he is at work again before his neighbors are out of bed." Even after the necessity for severe labor was over, in his "scheme of employment for the 24 hours of a natural day," he allotted for sleep only six hours, or those between ten and four.

If his constitutional and muscular vigor enabled him thus to tax his body, it did not save him from the illnesses his parents had escaped. In 1727, so he states, "when I was just pass'd my twenty-first year, I was taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy which very nearly carried me off. I suffered a great deal, gave up the point in my own mind and was rather disappointed when I found myself recovering, regretting, in some degree, that I must now, sometime or other, have all that disagreeable work to do over." In 1735 he had a second attack of this complaint, of so serious a character that the left lung suppurated. Prior to these two seizures, too, he thought he had avoided an illness only by "having read somewhere that cold water, drank plentifully, was good for a fever," and when "in the evening I found myself very feverish," "I followed the prescription, sweat plentifully most of the night, and the next morning was well again." This is the more interesting since for many years afterward the usual treatment for fevers involved the entire denial of water to the sufferer.

In another way Franklin differed from his own generation in not dreading water. Not merely did he approve of water internally, but externally as well. Swimming, he maintained, was one of the most healthful and agreeable exercises in the world, and if one did "not know how to swim, . . . a warm bath, by cleansing and purifying the skin, is found very salutary. . . . I speak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others, to whom I have recommended this." In the year 1778, when suffering from a cutaneous trouble, he says, "I took a hot bath twice a week, two hours at a time," with the utmost benefit; and a subsequent neglect, when he "hardly bathed in those three months," served to bring on a second attack. In the last years of his life, when suffering from a complication of maladies, Cutler relates that he "used a warm bath every day," in a "bathing vessel said to be a curiosity. It is copper, in the form of a Slipper. He sits in the Heel, and his legs go under the Vamp; on the Instep he has a place to fix his book, and here he sits

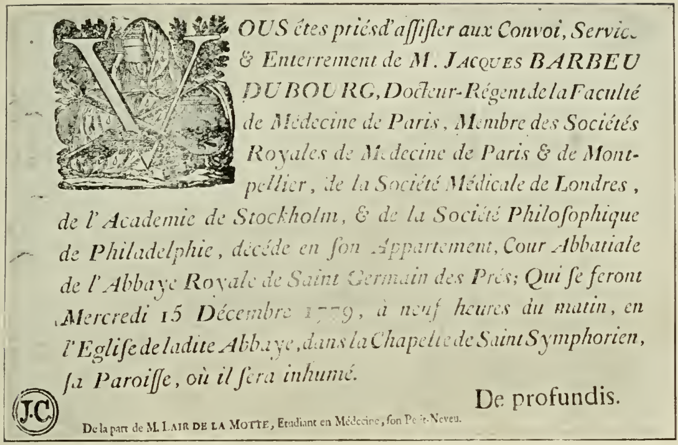
EAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1754 (?).

and enjoys himself. About the time I left the city of Philadelphia, they chose him President of the Executive Council. His accepting the office is a sure sign of senility. But would it not be a capital subject for an historical painting—the Doctor placed at the head of the Council Board in his bathing slipper?"

As Franklin was in advance of his times in the use of water, so, too, he led the way in preaching the value of fresh air. In a letter to his friend Dr. Dubourg, he said:

> "I greatly approve the epithet which you give, in your letter of the 8th of June, to the new method of treating the small-pox, which you call the *tonic* or bracing method; I will take occasion from it to mention a practice to which I have accustomed myself. You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic; but the shock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally speaking, as too violent, and I have found it much more agreeable to my constitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I rise almost every morning and sit in my chamber without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the season, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the least painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and, if I return to bed afterwards, before I dress myself, as sometimes happens, I make a supplement to my night's rest of one or two hours of the most pleasing sleep that can be imagined. I find no ill consequences whatever resulting from it, and that at least it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preservation. I shall therefore call it for the future a *bracing* or *tonic* bath."

This theory he is to be found advocating constantly. "Another means of preserving health, to be attended to, is the having a constant supply of fresh air in your bed-chamber," he averred. "It has been a great mistake the sleeping in rooms exactly closed, and in beds surrounded by curtains. No outward air that may



VOUS êtes priés d'aſſiſter aux Convoi, Service & Enterrement de M. Jacques BARBEU DUBOURG, Docteur-Régent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, Membre des Sociétés Royales de Medecine de Paris & de Montpellier, de la Société Médicale de Londres, de l'Academie de Stockholm, & de la Société Philoſophique de Philadelphie, décéde en ſon Appartement, Cour Abbatiale de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Germain des Prés; Qui ſe feront Mercredi 15 Décembre 1779, à neuf heures du matin, en l'Egliſe de ladite Abbaye, dans la Chapelle de Saint Symphorien, ſa Paroiſſe, où il ſera inhumé.

De profundis.

J.C

De la part de M. Lair de la Motte, Etudiant en Médecine, ſon Petit-Neveu.

FRANKLIN'S NOTIFICATION TO ATTEND DUBOURG'S FUNERAL.

come in to you is so unwholesome as the unchanged air, so often breathed, of a close chamber." Elsewhere he wrote: "Physicians, after having for ages contended that the sick should not be indulged with fresh air, have at length discovered that it may do them good. It is therefore to be hoped that they may in time discover likewise that it is not hurtful to those who are in health, and that we may then be cured of the *aerophobia* that at present distresses weak minds, and makes them choose to be stifled and poisoned, rather than leave open the window of a bed-chamber, or put down the glass of a coach." A most amusing glimpse of his proselytizing is given in John Adams's autobiography. During a journey in 1776,

"At Brunswick, but one bed could be procured for Dr. Franklin and me, in a chamber little larger than the bed, without a

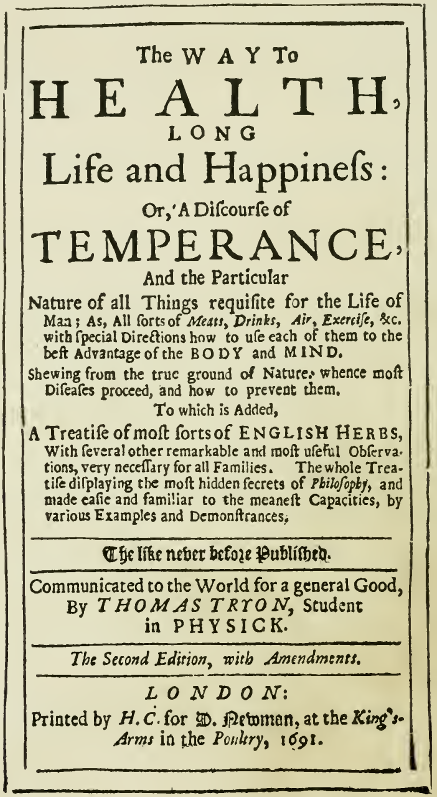
> chimney, and with only one small window. The window was open, and I who was an invalid and afraid of the air of night, shut it close. 'Oh,' says Franklin, 'don't shut the window, we shall be suffocated.' I answered I was afraid of the evening air. Dr. Franklin replied, 'The air within this chamber will soon be, and indeed is now, worse than that without doors. Come, open the window and come to bed, and I will convince you. I believe you are not acquainted with my theory of colds?' Opening the window, and leaping into bed, I said I had read his letters to Dr. Cooper, in which he had advanced, that nobody ever got cold by going into a cold church or any other cold air, but the theory was so little consistent with my experience, that I thought it a paradox. However, I had so much curiosity to hear his reasons that I would run the risk of a cold. The Doctor then began a harangue upon air and cold, and respiration and perspiration, with which I was so much amused that I soon fell asleep, and left him and his philosophy together, but I believe they were equally sound and insensible within a few minutes after me, for the last words I heard were pronounced as if he was more than half asleep. I remember little of the lecture, except that the human body, by respiration and perspiration, destroys a gallon of air in a minute; that two such persons as were now in that chamber, would consume all the air in it in an hour or two; that by breathing over again the matter thrown off by the lungs and the skin, we should imbibe the real cause of colds, not from abroad, but from within."

Even Franklin, however, could have a surfeit of air, and he described an experience on the frontier which his liking for fresh air brought upon him. "As to our lodging," he related, "it is on deal feather-beds, in warm blankets, and much more comfortable than when we lodged at our inn the first night after we left home; for, the woman being about to put very damp sheets on the bed, we desired her to air them first; half an hour afterwards she told us the bed was ready, and the sheets *well aired*. I got into bed, but jumped out immediately, finding them as cold as death, and partly frozen. She had *aired* them indeed, but it was out upon the hedge. I was forced to wrap myself up in my great coat and woolen trowsers."

"He that lives carnally, won't live eternally," Poor Richard assured his readers, and he reinforced this with the couplet:

> "Against Diseases here, the strongest Fence
> Is the defensive Virtue, Abstinence."

Elsewhere he makes his opinion more specific by declaring that "a full belly is the mother of all Evil," and advises that "to lengthen thy life, lessen thy meals," for, "Three good meals a day is bad living." This caution the proverb-maker himself seems to have regarded early in life. "At 16 years of age," he says, "I happened to meet with a book written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconveniency, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me." Such was Franklin's enthusiasm for the theory that he became not merely a disciple, but a propagandist of Tryon, and in entering Samuel Keimer's employment as a journeyman printer he so worked upon his employer, who was "a great glutton," that "He agreed to try the practice if I would keep him company. I did so, and we held it for three months. We had our victuals dress'd, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the



The WAY To
HEALTH,
LONG
Life and Happineſs:
Or, A Diſcourſe of
TEMPERANCE,
And the Particular
Nature of all Things requiſite for the Life of
Man; As, All ſorts of *Meats*, *Drinks*, *Air*, *Exerciſe*, &c.
with ſpecial Directions how to uſe each of them to the
beſt Advantage of the BODY and MIND.
Shewing from the true ground of Nature, whence moſt
Diſeaſes proceed, and how to prevent them.
To which is Added,
A Treatiſe of moſt ſorts of ENGLISH HERBS,
With ſeveral other remarkable and moſt uſeful Obſervations,
very neceſſary for all Families. The whole Treatiſe
diſplaying the moſt hidden ſecrets of *Philoſophy*, and
made eaſie and familiar to the meaneſt Capacities, by
various Examples and Demonſtrances;

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Communicated to the World for a general Good,
By *THOMAS TRYON*, Student
in PHYSICK.

The Second Edition, with Amendments.

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Printed by *H. C.* for D. Newman, at the *King's-Arms* in the *Poultry*, 1691.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF
THOMAS TRYON'S BOOK.

neighborhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, to be prepar'd for us at different times, in all which there was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, and the whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several Lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that, and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience, so that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, tired of the project, long'd for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and order'd a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him; but, it being brought too soon upon table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came."

Undoubtedly, as all this indicated, economy was quite as strong a motive with Franklin as abstemiousness, for he tells of his taking lodgings in London where "our supper was only half an anchovy each on a very little strip of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us," because of its greater economy. But though motives of thrift induced him to sup thus frugally, he seems to have had as well a special prejudice against the late suppers that the fashion of early dining then made customary.

"Dine with little, sup with less:
Do better still; sleep supperless,"

he recommends; for, "Eat few suppers and you 'll need few medicines." In the same vein he told a correspondent: "In general, mankind, since the improvement of cookery, eat about twice as much as nature requires. Suppers are not bad, if we have not dined; but restless nights naturally follow hearty suppers after full dinners. Indeed, as there is a difference in constitutions, some rest well after these meals; it costs them only a frightful dream and an apoplexy, after which they sleep till doomsday. Nothing is more common in the newspapers than instances of people who, after eating a hearty supper, are found dead abed in the morning." He even carried his theory so far as to approve of a physician "who prescribes abstinence for the cure of consumption. He must be clever because he thinks as *we* do." "I saw few die of hunger," Poor Richard affirmed; "of eating—100,000."

This moderation, taught by maxim and example, was due to discretion rather than to desire, and though Poor Richard insisted that all should "Eat to live, and not live to eat," his double, as time wore on, failed to live up to his own good advice; and such temperance as he exercised was due to motives of economy rather than to control of appetite. "The poor man," he said, "must walk to get meat for his stomach, the rich man to get a stomach to his meat," and when opportunity or prosperity enabled him to gratify his appetite, he had occasion often to reprove himself for his want of self-control as a trencherman. His father trained him, he states, so that "little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was bro't up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as to be quite indifferent to what kind of food was set before me, and so unobservant of it that, to this day, if I am asked, I can scarce tell in a few hours after dinner what I dined upon."

None the less Franklin had a very positive relish for his food. He tells an amusing story of how he came first to abandon vegetarianism, when, on a voyage from Boston, "Being becalm'd off Block Island, our people set about catching cod, and haul'd up a good many"; which Franklin deemed "a kind of unprovoked murder."

> "But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and, when this came hot out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well. I balanc'd some time between principle and inclination, till I recollected that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, 'If you eat one another, I don't see why we may n't eat you.' So I din'd upon cod very heartily, and continued to eat with other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable creature, since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do."

This anecdote is not the only evidence that Franklin thoroughly enjoyed the palatable things of life. In a voyage across the Atlantic, in 1726, he states that the pilot "brought on board about a peck of apples with him; that seemed the most delicious I ever tasted in my life; the salt provisions we had been used to gave them a relish." On the frontier, thirty years later, he thanked his wife for a supply of provisions, telling her: "We have enjoyed your roast beef, and this day began on the roast veal. All agree that they are both the best that ever were of the kind. Your citizens, that have their dinners hot and hot, know nothing of good eating. We find it in much greater perfection when the kitchen is four score miles from the dining room. The apples are extremely welcome, and do bravely to eat after our salt pork; the minced pies are not yet come to hand." Again, when in England, he apparently craved certain American dishes, for his wife wrote him: "I have Sente to you two Barrels of apels which I hope will prove good. I cold not get Sume Indea meal and Buckwheat flower. But I shall by the next opertunety." Such shipments were evidently a yearly practice, for a twelvemonth before this Franklin had written to his wife:

> "The buckwheat and Indian meal are come safe and good. They will be a great refreshment to me this winter; for, since I cannot be in America, everything that comes from thence comforts me a little, as being something like home. The dried peaches are excellent; those dried without their skins. The parcel in their skins are not so good. The apples are the best I ever had, and came with the least damage. The sturgeon you mention did not come; but that is not so material."

Perhaps the frankest indication of Franklin's personal likings is afforded in his acknowledgment that "many people are fond of accounts of old buildings and monuments, but for one, I confess that if I could find in any Italian travels a receipt for making Parmesan cheese, it would give me more satisfaction than a transcript of any inscription from any old stone whatever."

Franklin began life equally temperate in the use of liquor. He set so good an example to his beer-drinking fellow-journeymen in London that they christened him the "Water-American," and Poor Richard has many a wise saw and maxim inculcating the evil of winebibbing. Yet here, again, it seems to have been more a matter of prudence than of preference. At the time he adopted vegetarianism, the lad wrote an essay for the "New England Courant" on the "Vice of

Drunkenness, the better to reclaim the good fellows who usually pay the Devotions of the evening to Bacchus"; but his disapproval was not extreme, for the sage of sixteen maintained:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S WINE-GLASS.
Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"I doubt not but *moderate Drinking* has been improved for the Diffusion of Knowledge among the ingenious Part of Mankind, who want the Talent of a ready Utterance, in order to discover the Conceptions of their Minds in an entertaining and intelligible Manner. 'T is true, drinking does not *improve* our Faculties, but it enables us to use them, and therefore I conclude, that much Study and Experience, and a little Liquor are of absolute Necessity for some Tempers, in order to make them accomplish'd Orators."

So, too, he seems never to have been a total abstainer. When only nineteen years of age he discussed a business matter at the tavern "over the Madeira," and in time developed a decided predilection for this particular wine; a taste reproved by a feminine friend, who wrote to him, when he was suffering from one of his attacks of the gout:

> "I own I thought you much indisposed when I saw you in Craven Street, and I allow that I was conceited enough to think I could have prescribed better things than Madeira and Curaçoa; not that I am an enemy to either in a healthy state, or in some diseases, but you appeared to me to have, at the time you took them, too much on your stomach of the nature of sour to take any more without being more injured than benefited, tho' taken with your usual moderation."

To his friend Strahan, Franklin laughingly confessed: "You will say my *advice* 'smells of *Madeira.*' You are right. This foolish letter is mere chitchat *between ourselves* over the *second bottle.*" Elsewhere, in speaking of finding some flies in a bottle of Madeira, which revived after months of imprisonment, he expressed the wish, if it were possible,

> "To invent a method of embalming drowned persons in such a manner that they may be recalled to life at any period, however distant; for having a very ardent desire to see and observe the state of America a hundred years hence, I should prefer to any ordinary death the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine with a few friends till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country!"

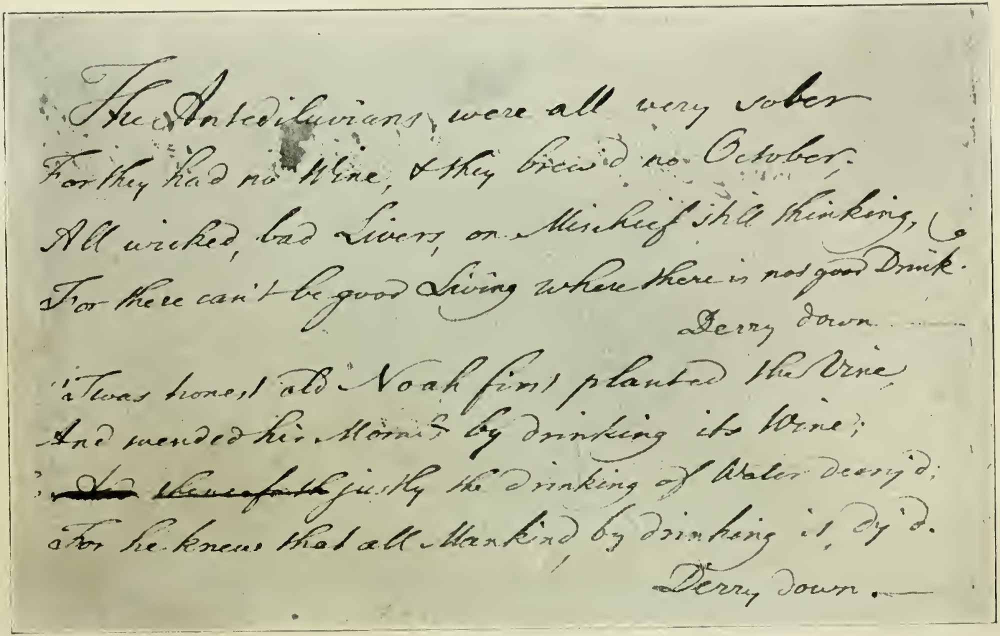
Nor was this particular beverage the only one for which Franklin showed a liking. As time wore on, the Poor Richard who advised his readers to "Drink water, put the money in your pocket, and leave the dry bellyach in the punch-bowl," apparently recanted, for he printed in his Almanac the following doggerel:

> "Boy, bring a bowl of china here,
> Fill it with water cool and clear;
> Decanter with Jamaica ripe,
> And spoon of silver, clean and bright,
> Sugar twice-fin'd in pieces cut,
> Knife, sieve and glass in order put,
> Bring forth the fragrant fruit, and then
> We 're happy till the clock strikes ten."

Franklin speaks of himself, on one occasion, as "put in a good humour by a glass or two of champagne," and presumably it was in another such moment when he composed the drinking-song printed in facsimile. To a French abbé and intimate he wrote, late in life:

> "My Christian brother, be kind and benevolent like God, and do not spoil his good work. He made wine to gladden the heart of men; do not, therefore, when at table you see your neighbor pour wine into his glass, be eager to mingle water with it. Why would you drown *truth?* . . . Do not, then, offer water, except to children; 't is a mistaken piece of politeness, and often very inconvenient. I give you this hint as a man of the world; and I will finish as I began, like a good Christian, in making a religious observation of high importance, taken from the Holy Scriptures. I mean that the apostle Paul counselled Timothy very seriously to put wine into his water for the sake of his health; but that not one of the apostles or holy fathers ever recommended putting *water to wine.*"

No one knew better than Franklin the results of undue eating and drinking; but, as he made "Madame Gout" say of himself, "You philosophers are sages in your maxims and fools in your conduct." Referring to an illness, he said: "But as this speedy recovery is, as I am fully persuaded, owing to the extreme abstemiousness I have observed for some days past at home, I am not without apprehension that, being to dine abroad



The Antediluvians were all very sober
For they had no Wine, & they brew'd no October;
All wicked, bad Livers, on Mischief still thinking,
For there can't be good Living where there is not good Drink.
Derry down —

'Twas honest old Noah first planted the Vine,
And mended his Morals by drinking its Wine;
~~He thenceforth~~ justly the drinking of Water decry'd;
For he knew that all Mankind by drinking it, dy'd.
Derry down. —

DRINKING-SONG IN FRANKLIN'S HANDWRITING.
In the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

this day, to-morrow, and next day, I may inadvertently bring it on again." At another time, he took "note of a week's diet and health," and he chronicles that after dining at "Dolly's"—a famous London chop-house—he "felt symptoms of cold—fullness." Dinner the day following brought on a cold, in which he takes some pride, because he had "predicted it." Still continuing to eat, he the next morning records that he had a "very bad night" and a "little soreness of Throat." This induced him to diet, even to the foregoing of his dinner, and he ends his record with the words, "had a good Night, am better." Another illness he blames to his having eaten "a hearty supper, much cheese, and drank a good deal of champagne." Yet again, he "dined, and drank rather too freely at M. d'Arcy's," with a resulting "little pain in my great toe."

This lessening of his early austerity as to food and drink led in time to a corpulence over which Franklin joked not a little. In 1757 he described himself to a friend as "a fat old fellow"; in the "Craven Street Gazette" he styles himself "Dr. Fatsides," refers in the same sheet to "the great person (so called from his enormous size)," and explains a non-attendance at church by the fact that "the great person's broad-built bulk lay so long abed, that . . . it was too late to dress." His increase of flesh, as he here suggested, brought with it a physical indolence. As early as 1749 Franklin confesses to "a little natural indolence," and in speaking of a business matter which called for a journey, he wrote, "I am grown almost too lazy to undertake it." Fifteen years later, apropos of an intended visit, he told a friend: "I love ease more than ever, and by daily using your horses I can be of service to you and them by preventing their growing too fat and becoming restive."

He was not his only accuser in this respect. John Adams, in 1778, said of him: "[Franklin] loves his Ease, hates to offend, and seldom gives any opinion till obliged to do it. . . . But if he is left here alone even with such a Secretary, and all maritime and Commercial as well as political affairs and money matters are left in his Hands, I am persuaded that France and America will both have reason to repent it. He is not only so indolent that Business will be neglected, but you know that although he has as determined a soul as any man, yet it is his constant Policy never to say 'yes' or 'no' decidedly but when he cannot avoid it." In this opinion, apparently, Franklin joined, for he told a friend: "I find the various employments of merchant, banker, Judge of Admiralty, consul, etc. etc., besides my ministerial functions, too multifarious and too heavy for my old shoulders, and have therefor requested Congress that I may be relieved; for in this point I agree even with my enemies, that another may easily be found who can better execute them." Franklin himself believed he had become intellectually idle.

> "For my own part," he says, "everything of difficult discussion, and that requires close attention of mind and an application of long continuance, grows rather irksome to me, and where there is not some absolute necessity for it, as in the settlement of accounts, or the like, I am apt to indulge the indolence usually attending age, in postponing such business from time to time; though continually resolving to do it."

At first Franklin combated his tendency to physical ease by forcing himself to take exercise. "Dr. Fatsides made 469 turns in his dining-room," he chronicled in the "Craven Street Gazette," and that this was habitual is implied by an entry in John Adams's diary, where it is recorded that "Dr. Franklin, upon my saying the other day that I fancied he did not exercise so much as he was wont, answered, 'Yes, I walk a league every day in my chamber; I walk quick, and for an hour, so that I go a league; I make a point of religion of it.'" Even so late as 1771, his sister, in writing to Mrs. Franklin, said: "We shall Nither of us now Atain to what my Brother writs me of Himself that He has Lately walkd ten miles without Resting, & is in fine Helth which I am shure you & I Joyn in Blessing God for." About the same date, too, Franklin wrote his son concerning the dumb-bell: "By the use of it I have in forty swings quickened my pulse from sixty to one hundred beats in a minute, counted by a second-watch, and I suppose the warmth generally increases with the quickness of pulse."

If Franklin did not live according to Poor Richard's maxims, he at least illustrated some of them.

> "Be temperate in wine, in eating, girls, and sloth,
> Or the gout will seize you and plague you both,"

his Almanac for 1734 warned its patrons. As early as 1749 the disease was upon him, but in a mild form, and he was quickly able to tell his mother that "my leg, which you inquire after, is now quite well." From this time, during the next twenty years, he had "once in two or three years a slight fit of the gout, which generally terminated in a week or ten days." These attacks, like his first, were not serious, and in 1768 he wrote his wife: "I have had but one touch of the gout, and that a light one, since I left you. It was just after my arrival here, so that this is the fourth winter I have been free." A year later he reiterated this, saying: "I am now and have been all this winter in very good health, thanks to God. I only once felt a little admonition, as if a fit of the gout would attack me, but it did not." In 1770 he did not fare so well. "As to myself," he said, "I had, from Christmas till Easter, a disagreeable giddiness hanging about me, which, however, did not hinder me from being about and doing business. In the Easter holidays, being at a friend's house in the country, I was taken with a sore throat, and came home half strangled. From Monday till Friday I could swallow nothing but barley water, and the like. On Friday came on a fit of the gout, from which I had been free five years. Immediately the inflammation and swelling in my throat disappeared; my foot swelled greatly, and I was confined about three weeks; since which I am perfectly well, the giddiness and every other disagreeable symptom having quite left me." Again, in 1772, he explained his lack of news, because, "being gouty of late, [I] seldom go into the city." Evidently the ailment was still of a mild form, for he told Mrs. Franklin: "I thank you for your advice about putting back a fit of the gout. I shall never attempt such a thing. Indeed I have not much occasion to complain of the gout, having had but two slight fits since I came last to England."

Upon his return to America, in 1775, Franklin noted that "I immediately entered the Congress, where, and with the Committee of Safety, I sat a great part of that year and the next, ten or twelve hours a day, without exercise." This served to bring on another attack, which is of special interest because of its relation to a bigger event. As is well known, Franklin was appointed one of the committee to prepare a Declaration of Independence on June 10, yet eleven days later he wrote: "I am recovering from a severe fit of gout, so that I know little of what has passed there [in Congress], except that a Declaration of Independence is preparing." Sent to Canada a little later in this same year, the travel and exposure so told upon him that he sat "down to write to a few friends by way of farewell," for "I begin to apprehend that I have undertaken a fatigue that at my time of life may prove too much for me." "I find I grow daily more feeble. . . . Some symptoms of the gout now appear, which makes me think my indisposition has been a smothered fit of that disorder, which my constitution wanted strength to form completely." He himself believed that he owed his life to the care given him by his traveling companion John Carroll, a Catholic priest, and how he later rewarded the kindness is told elsewhere.

Late in 1776 Franklin sailed for Europe as commissioner to the court of France, and scarcely had he entered upon his duties when his chronic malady came upon him. One of his fellow-commissioners was forced to apologize to the French Foreign Office because "the Treaty with the Farmers General has been retarded, on

ARCHBISHOP JOHN CARROLL.
After portrait by Stuart, in possession of Georgetown College, Washington, D. C.

account of Dr. Franklin's illness," and Franklin cautioned a correspondent: "Don't be proud of this long letter. A fit of the gout, which has confined me five days and made me refuse to receive company, has given me a little time to trifle." In 1779 another seizure further interfered with his diplomatic duties. "A severe fit of the gout, with too much business at the same time necessary to be done," he gives as his difficulties, but says elsewhere: "I don't complain much, even of the gout, which has harassed me," because "they say that is not so much a disease as a remedy"; and he jokingly ends, "there seems, however, some incongruity in a plenipotentiary who can neither *stand* nor *go*."

From this time Franklin's gout seriously interfered with his ministerial duties. In going to court in 1780, he records in his diary that he was "Much fatigued by the going twice up and down the palace stairs, from the tenderness of my feet and weakness of my knees; therefore did not go the rounds"; and a year later he noted: "Went to Court and performed the round of levees, though with much pain and difficulty through the tenderness and feebleness of my feet and knees." Another twelve months forced him to apologize for not having paid "my devoirs at Versailles," because, "since my last severe fit of the gout, my legs have continued so weak that I am hardly able to keep pace with the ministers, who walk fast, especially in going up and down stairs." From that time he was always represented at court by his grandson.

Franklin's treatment of his gout was decidedly original.

> "I forgot to acquaint you," he told his friend Dr. Small, "that I had treated it (my gout) a little cavalierly in its last two accesses. Finding one night that my foot gave me more pain after it was covered warm in bed, I put it out of bed naked; and, perceiving it easier, I let it remain longer than I at first designed, and at length fell asleep, leaving it there till morning. The pain did not return, and I grew well. Next winter, having a second attack, I repeated the experiment; not with such immediate success in dismissing the gout, but constantly with the effect of rendering it less painful, so that it permitted me to sleep every night. I should mention that it was my son who gave me the first intimation of this practice. He being in the old opinion, that the gout was to be drawn out by transpiration; and having heard me say, that perspiration was carried on more copiously when the body was naked than when clothed, he put his foot out of bed to increase that discharge, and found ease by it, which he thought a confirmation of the doctrine. But this method requires to be confirmed by more experiments, before one can conscientiously recommend it."

If the gout was Franklin's chronic disorder, it by no means saved him from other maladies of the flesh. In 1755 he wrote a relative: "I have been ill these eight days, confined to my room and bed most of the time, but am now getting better." Soon after his arrival in England, in 1757, he was seized with an intermittent fever, "got from making experiments over stagnant waters," which "continued to harass me by frequent relapses." No sooner was he well from this than "I had a violent cold and something of a fever," and

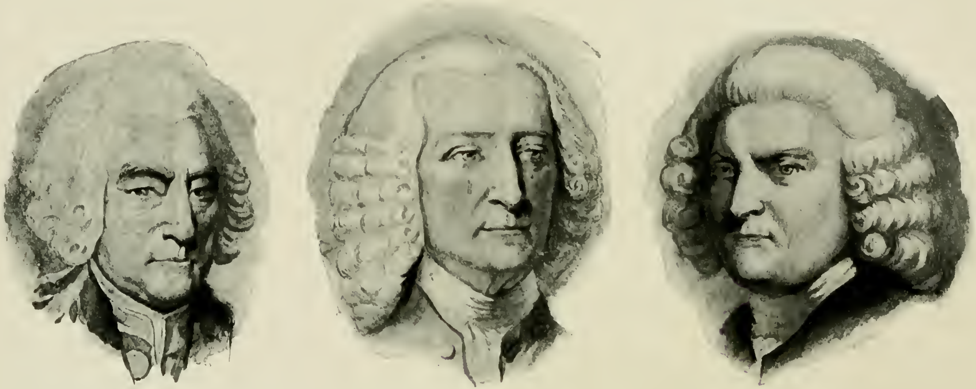
> "It was not long before I had another severe cold, which continued longer than the first, attended by great pain in my head, the top of which was very hot, and when the pain went off, very sore and tender. These fits of pain continued sometimes longer than at others; seldom less than twelve hours, and once thirty-six hours. I was now and then a little delirious; they cupped me on the back of the head, which seemed to

> ease me for the present; I took a great deal of bark, both in substance and infusion, and too soon thinking myself well, I ventured out twice, to do a little business and forward the service I am engaged in, and both times got fresh cold and fell down again. My good doctor [Fothergill] grew very angry with me for acting contrary to his cautions and directions, and obliged me to promise more observance for the future. . . . I took so much bark in various ways, that I began to abhor it; I durst not take a vomit, for fear of my head; but at last I was seized one morning with a vomiting and purging, the latter of which continued the greater part of the day, and I believe was a kind of crisis to the distemper, carrying it clear off; for ever since I feel quite lightsome, and am gathering strength; so I hope my seasoning is over, and that I shall enjoy better health during the rest of my stay in England."

Clearly Franklin had forgotten Poor Richard's admonition to "Be not sick too late, nor well too soon."

As early as 1755 his eyesight was more or less affected, and four years later he was wearing glasses, for he "could not find" a woman friend "at the Oratorio in the Foundling Hospital, . . . though I looked with all the eyes I had, not excepting even those I carried in my pocket." In 1776 he complains that "my eyes will now hardly serve me to write by night," and from this time on he was compelled to use the double spectacles which he invented for his own benefit, the upper half of the lens being curved for distant vision, and the lower half for reading.

With his waxing flesh came a certain clumsiness of body, which resulted, in 1763, while on a journey, in a bad fall, from which he had barely recovered when he repeated the accident and "put my shoulder out. It is well reduced again, but is still affected with constant, though not very acute pain. I am not yet able to travel rough roads, and must lie bye awhile as I can neither hold reins nor whip with my right hand till it grows stronger." If travel was responsible for this first mishap, it served Franklin in better part upon other occasions. "I wrote you that I had been very ill lately, I am now nearly well again, but feeble," he chronicled in 1766. "To-morrow I set out with my friend, Dr. Pringle (now Sir John), on a journey to Pyrmont, where he goes to drink the waters; but I hope more for the air and the exercise, having been used, as you know, to have a journey once a year, the want of which last year has, I believe, hurt me, so that, though I was not quite to say sick, I was often ailing last Winter, and throughout the Spring." In this hope he was not disappointed, for upon his return he informed a correspondent: "I have only time to assure you that I have been extreamly hearty and well ever since my Return from France, the Complaints I had before I went on that Tour, being entirely dissipated; and fresh Strength and Activity, the Effects of Exercise and Change of Air, have taken their place." The beneficial results, however, were by no means lasting, for very quickly he was "meditating a journey somewhere, perhaps to Bath or Bristol, as I begin to find a little giddiness in my head, a token that I want the exercise I have yearly been accustomed to." "I was," he records at this time, "sometimes vexed with an itching on the back, which I observed particularly after eating freely of beef. And sometimes after long confinement at writing, with little exercise, I have felt sudden pungent pains in the flesh of different parts of the body, which I was told was scorbutic. A journey



Sir William Watson, M. D., F. R. S.

John Fothergill, M. D., F. R. S.

Sir John Pringle, M. D., F. R. S.

BRITISH DOCTORS WITH WHOM FRANKLIN WAS INTIMATE.

used to free me of them." "My constitution," he observed, "and too great confinement to business during the Winter seemed to require the air and exercise of a long journey once a year. Which I have now practiced for more than twenty years past."

During a trip in Ireland in 1773, "after a plentiful dinner of fish the first day of my arrival," Franklin was taken sick, and though not invalided, he did not altogether recover for four or five weeks. "On my return I first observed a kind of scab or scurf on my head about the bigness of a shilling. Finding it did not heal, but rather increased, I mentioned it to my friend, Sir J. P., who advised a mercurial water to wash it, and some physic. It slowly left that place, but appeared in other parts of my head. He also advised my abstaining from salt meats and cheese, which adviceI did not much follow, often forgetting it"—a forgetfulness of Poor Richard as well, for the Almanac-maker had counseled:

"Cheese and salt meat
Should be sparingly eat."

This skin-disease was increased by his voyage to America in 1775, during which he "necessarily ate more salt meat than usual." The diet and his sedentary life in Congress brought on "frequent giddiness," he suffered much from a number of large boils, and "apprehended dropsy." In his passage to France in 1776,

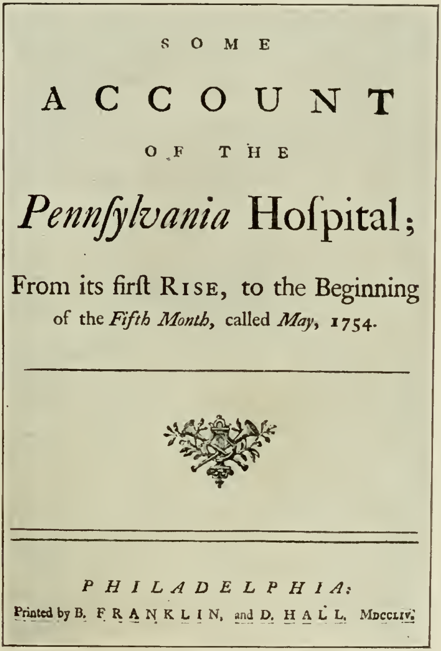
> "I lived chiefly on salt beef, the fowls being too hard for my teeth. But, being poorly nourished, I was very weak at my arrival; boils continued to vex me, and the scurf extending over all the small of my back, on my sides, my legs, and my arms, besides what continued under my hair, I applied to a physician, who ordered me Mr. Bellosto's pills and an infu-

sion of a root called ——. I took the infusion awhile, but it being disagreeable, and finding no effect, I omitted it. I continued to take the pills, but finding my teeth loosening, and that I had lost three, I desisted the use of them. I found that bathing stopped the progress of the disorder. I therefore took the hot bath twice a week, two hours at a time, till this last summer. It always made me feel comfortable as I rubbed off the softened scurf in the warm water; and I otherwise enjoyed exceeding good health. I stated my case to Dr. Ingenhousz, and desired him to show it to Sir J. P., and obtain his advice. They sent me from London some medicine, but, Dr. Ingenhousz proposing to come over soon, and the affair not pressing, I resolved to omit taking the medicine till his arrival. In July, (1778) the disorder began to diminish at first slowly, but afterwards rapidly; and by the beginning of October it had quitted entirely my legs, feet, thighs, and arms, and my belly; a very little was left on my sides, more on the small of my back, but the whole daily diminishing."

The disobedience to the orders and advice of his various doctors, already recorded, make Franklin's views on the profession worth glancing at; and possibly his reason for the neglect is to be found in his declaration that "There are more old drunkards, than old doctors." "He is the best physician that knows the worthlessness of the most medicines," asserted Poor Richard; for, "Many Dishes, many diseases; many medicines, few cures," and even these "few cures" the Almanac-maker was apparently not willing to give to the profession, for he claims that "God heals and the doctor takes the fee." In one of Franklin's squibs he quotes with evident approval the "Italian Epitaph upon a poor fool that killed himself with quacking, 'I was well, I would be better, I took Physick and died,'" and that this really represented his opinion of most drugs is shown in another instance. Jefferson relates an incident which occurred during a discussion in the Continental Congress over a partial suspension of the non-importation association.

> "I was sitting by Dr. Franklin and observed to him that I thought we should except books; that we ought not to exclude science, even coming from an enemy. He thought so too, and I proposed the exception, which was agreed to. Soon after it occurred that medicine should be excepted, and I suggested that also to the Doctor. 'As to that,' said he, 'I will tell you a story. When I was in London, in such a year, there was a weekly club of physicians, of which Sir John Pringle was President, and I was invited by my friend Dr. Fothergill to attend when convenient. Their rule was to propose a thesis one week and discuss it the next. I happened there when the question to be considered was whether physicians had, on the whole, done most good or harm? The young members, particularly, having discussed it very learnedly and eloquently till the subject was exhausted, one of them observed to Sir John Pringle, that although it was not usual for the President to take part in a debate, yet they were desirous to know his opinion on the question. He said they must first tell him whether, under the appellation of physicians, they meant to include *old women*, if they did he thought they had done more good than harm, otherwise more harm than good.'"

Yet during all his life Franklin's closest friends were, for the most part, medical men. In Philadelphia, Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, John Bard, Thomas Cadwalader, and John Jones; in London, Sir John Pringle, Sir William Watson, John Fothergill, William Hewson, and Edward Bancroft; and on the Continent, Barbeu Dubourg, Ingenhousz, and Guillotin were among his greatest intimates and co-workers. Upon one occasion, in writing to his "Honoured father and mother," he told them: "I apprehend I am too busy in prescribing and meddling in the doctor's sphere, when any of you complain of ails in your letters. But as I always employ a physician myself when any disorder arises in my family, and submit implicitly to his orders in every thing, so I hope you consider my advice, when I give any, only as a mark of my good-will, and put no more of it in practice than happens to agree with what your doctor directs." He refers also, as an object-lesson, to Lord Chatham, of whom "it is said that his constitution is



SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Pennſylvania Hoſpital;

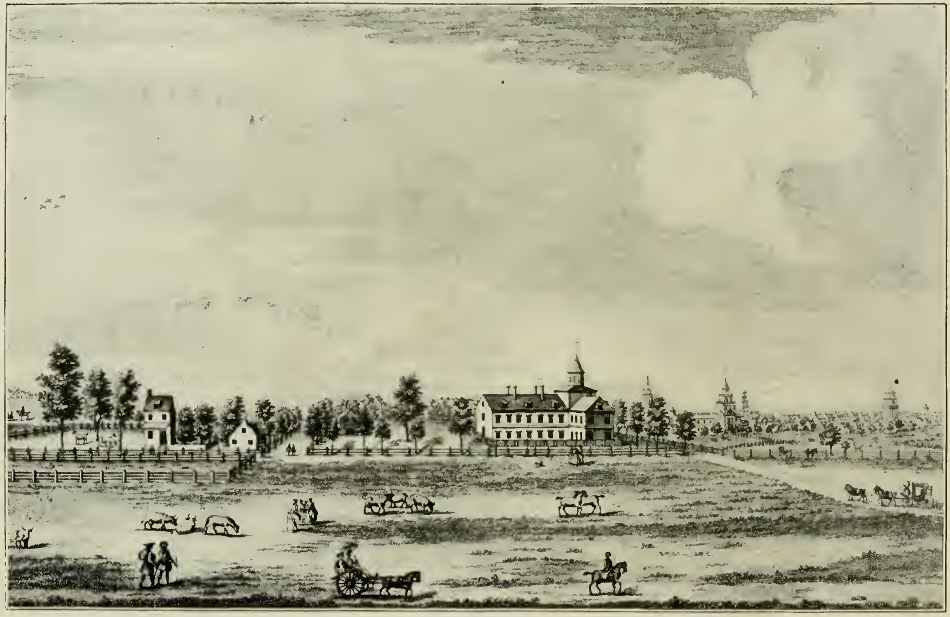
From its firſt Rise, to the Beginning
of the *Fifth Month*, called *May*, 1754.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by B. Franklin, and D. Hall. MDCCLIV.

FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.
From the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

totally destroyed and gone, partly through the violence of the disease, and partly by his own continual quacking with it." During the last year of his life, too, he drew up a "Plan for a Medical School."

In another way, Franklin proved that his girds at physicians and medicine did not wholly represent his real opinion. "In 1751," his autobiography states, "Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia, . . . but the proposal, being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met with but small success. At length he came to me, with the compliment, that he found there was no such thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concerned in it. . . . I enquir'd into the nature and probable utility of his scheme, and receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscrib'd to it myself, but engaged heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others. Previously, however, to the solicitation, I endeavour'd to prepare the minds of the people by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which he had omitted." Not content with these newspaper articles, Franklin later drew up, and published in pamphlet form, "Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital," from which it is learned that his subscription was twenty-five pounds, and that for a number of years he was one of the board of governors. He also succeeded in obtaining a grant of funds from the Assembly, by a shrewd bit of management, and long after he declared: "I do not remember any of my



THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.

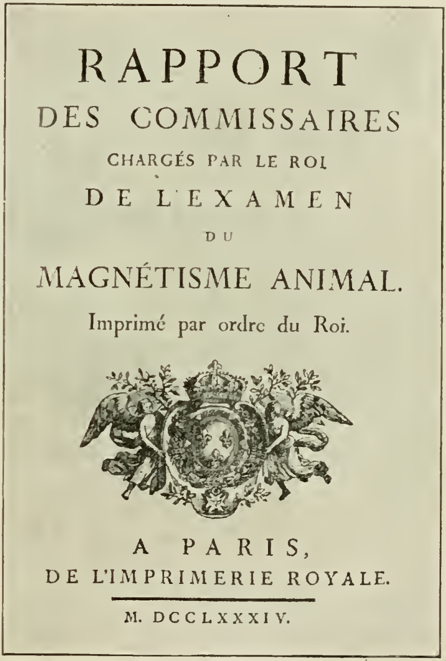
From an old copperplate in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

political manœuvres, the success of which gave me, at the time, more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excus'd myself for having made use of cunning."

FRIEDRICH ANTON MESMER.
From an old French print.

Nothing, perhaps, better showed his attitude toward all quacks than a service he rendered in 1784. Mesmer, after being discredited in Vienna, chiefly at the hands of Franklin's friend Ingenhousz, came to Paris in 1778, and began the practice of his pretended cure-all; but with very slight success, Franklin himself then happening to be the moment's fashion. In time, however, his séances became, in the words of one writer, the *affaire du bon ton*, while another declared that "all the world wished to be magnetized." Such was the craze that a mere deputy of Mesmer is said to have cleared one hundred thousand pounds within six months, and the frenzy became so serious that the government finally interfered. A commission was appointed, made up of four leading physicians of the Faculty of Paris, to which five members of the Royal Academy were added, of whom Franklin was named first, and such well-known men and scientists as Le Roy, De Bory, Guillotin, and

Lavoisier associated with him. After investigation they made a report which, in Jefferson's words, gave the "compound of fraud and folly" its "death-wound." Mesmer's thesis that in mankind there was "but one nature, one distemper, and one remedy," received humorous, though destructive, treatment at the hands of these scientists. The commission, recognizing the "action of the imagination upon the animal frame," and the consequent "nervous influence over disease," were able to repeat all Mesmer's alleged cures, not by his methods, but by simply making his patients believe that they were employing his methods. More destructive still, they pointed out that there was nothing new in the alleged science, all Mesmer's experiments and processes having been practised



RAPPORT
DES COMMISSAIRES
CHARGÉS PAR LE ROI
DE L'EXAMEN
DU
MAGNÉTISME ANIMAL.
Imprimé par ordre du Roi.

A PARIS,
DE L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE.
M. DCCLXXXIV.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON MESMERISM.

From Franklin's own copy in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

fully a century before he claimed their discovery. The bubble was pricked, and Mesmer disappeared, to die long after, "quite forgotten."

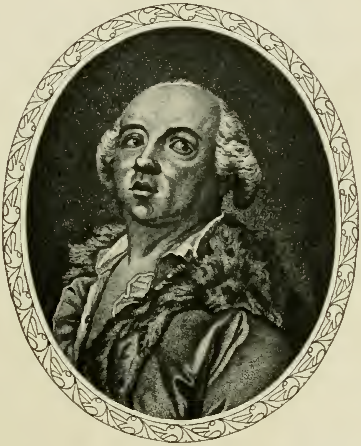
Another charlatan with whom Franklin came in contact about this time was the pretended Count Cagliostro, who later was to win a notoriety as great as Mesmer's, in connection with the diamond-necklace affair, but who at this time was still an obscure doctor. He was recommended to Franklin by his friend Brillon during an illness, but whether he ever treated him with his "secret remedy" for the gravel is not known.

The tendency to form gravel, or stone, for which Franklin needed medical aid, was probably inherited, for his father, Josiah, had died of the trouble, and his brother John had been a long sufferer from it. With Franklin it seems to have first developed in 1783, when his grandson Temple notified Vergennes that "My grandfather's 'gravel' has now turned into the gout which prevents his appearing at Court to-day as he intended"; and Franklin apologized to the minister because, "being now disabled by the stone, which in the easiest carriage gives me pain, . . . I find I can no longer pay my devoirs personally at Versailles, which I hope will be excused." A little later he wrote to John Jay:

> "It is true, as you have heard, that I have the stone, but not that I had thoughts of being cut for it. It is as yet very tolerable. It gives me no pain but when in a carriage on the pavement, or when I make some sudden quick movement. If I can prevent its growing larger, which I hope to do by abstemious living and gentle exercise, I can go on pretty comfortably with it to the end of my journey, which can now

be at no great distance. I am cheerful, enjoy the company of my friends, sleep well, have sufficient appetite, and my stomach performs well its functions. The latter is very material to the preservation of health. I therefore take no drugs lest I should disorder it. You may judge that my disease is not very grievous, since I am more afraid of the medicines than of the malady."

As this extract indicates, Franklin took his suffering cheerily. "As to myself," he told one friend, "I continue as hearty as at my age could be expected, and as cheerful as ever you knew me"; and to another he expressed the hope that he might "live as long as I have done, and with as much health, who continue as hearty as a buck, with a hand still steady, as they may see by this writing." To still a third he wrote:

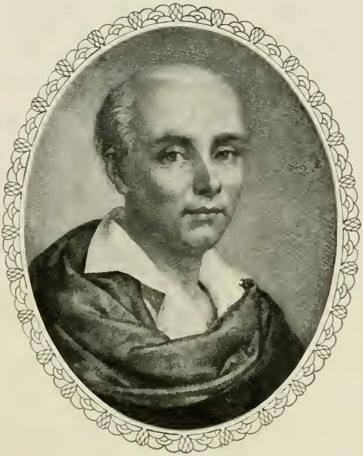


COUNT ALESSANDRO DI CAGLIOSTRO.
After an old engraving by F. Bonneville.

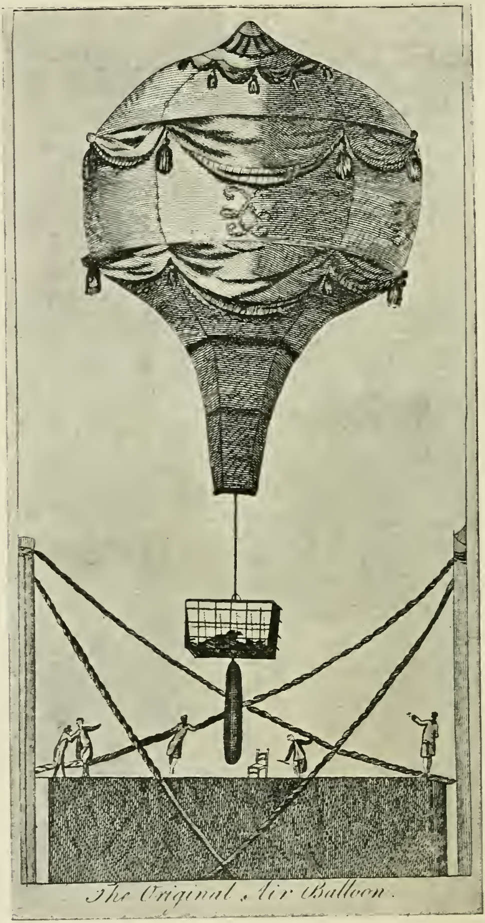
> "For my own part, I do not find that I grow any older. Being arrived at seventy, and considering that by travelling farther in the same road I should probably be led to the grave, I stopped short, turned about, and walked back again; which done these four years, you may now call me sixty-six. Advise these old friends of ours to follow my example; keep up your spirits, and that will keep up your bodies; you will no more stoop under the weight of age than if you had swallowed a handspike."

His manner of attaining such a frame of mind was simple. "One means of becoming content with one's situation is the comparing it with a worse. Thus, when I consider how many terrible diseases the human body is liable to, I comfort myself that only three incurable ones have fallen to my share, viz.: the gout, the stone, and old age; and these have not yet deprived me of my natural cheerfulness, my delight in books, and enjoyment of social conversation."

An amusing assistant to the royal commission, in giving a quietus to mesmerism, was the invention, just at the time that craze was highest, of the balloon, with a consequent shifting of interest by the fickle Paris public. Franklin himself followed the experiments of Montgolfier, the inventor, with the closest attention, not merely because of his scientific interest, but as well because of a personal one. "The progress made in the management of balloons," he told a correspondent, "has been rapid. Yet I fear it will hardly become a common carriage in my time, though being easiest of all voitures it would be extremely convenient to me, now that my malady forbids the use of old ones over a pavement." The pain all motion gave Franklin at one time threatened to cause his continuance in France even after Congress had consented to his return; for his French friends insisted that he could not bear the journey, and the sufferer himself hesitated. The difficulty was finally overcome by the kindness of Marie Antoinette. "When I was at Passy," Franklin recorded, "I could not bear a wheel carriage; and being discouraged from my project of descending the Seine in a boat, by the difficulties and tediousness of its navigation in so dry a season, I accepted the offer of one of the King's litters, carried by large mules." "I found the motion . . . did not much incommode me. It was one of the Queen's, carried by two very large mules," "which walked steadily and easily, so that I bore the



JACQUES-ÉTIENNE MONTGOLFIER.
From an old French print, after a portrait painted by his daughter.


The Original Air Balloon.

MONTGOLFIER'S FIRST BALLOON.
From the "Town and Country Magazine," London, 1783.

motion very well." "I came to Havre de Grâce in a litter," he wrote a friend from Portsmouth, "and hither in the packet boat; and, instead of being hurt by the journey or voyage, I really find myself very much better, not having suffered so little for the time these two years past." "I was not in the least inconvenienced by the voyage, but my children and my friend Mr. Veillard were very sick." In this connection it is interesting to note that Franklin was apparently never a victim to seasickness in any of his eight ocean crossings.

His voyage to America appears to have benefited him as much as travel always did; he accepted public offices and fulfilled their duties, and he seemed, indeed, to take pride in what strength yet remained to him, for, in showing a friend a book, "so large that it was with but the greatest difficulty the Doctor was able to raise it from the low shelf and lift it on to the table, with that senile ambition common to old people he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining." Yet evidences of his physical disabilities were not wanting. As president of Pennsylvania, he had to be carried to the state-house in a litter, and in the Federal Convention he had all his speeches read by his colleague James Wilson, "it being inconvenient to the Doctor to remain on his feet."

In 1788 a material change occurred in his health, of which he sent word to Ingenhousz:

> "You may remember the cutaneous malady I formerly complained of, and for which you and Dr. Pringle favored me with prescriptions and advice. It vexed me near fourteen years, and was at the beginning of this year as bad as ever, covering almost my whole body, except my face and hands;

when a fit of the gout came on, without very much pain, but a swelling in both feet, which at last appeared also in both knees, and then in my hands. As these swellings increased and extended, the other malady diminished, and at length disappeared entirely. Those swellings have some time since begun to fall, and are now almost gone; perhaps the cutaneous disease may return, or perhaps it is worn out. I may hereafter let you know what happens. I am on the whole much weaker than when it began to leave me."

JEAN INGENHOUSZ, M.D.

Another twelvemonth "found me very ill with a severe fit of the stone, which followed a fall I had on the stone steps that lead into my garden, wherebye I was much bruised and my wrist sprained so as to render me incapable of writing for several weeks." From the consequences of this fall the doctor did not recover, and henceforth was obliged to spend the most of his time in bed. Of his health he wrote, late in 1789:

> "I can give you no good account. I have a long time been afflicted with almost constant and grievous pain, to combat which I have been obliged to have recourse to opium, which indeed has afforded me some ease from time to time, but then it has taken away my appetite and so impeded my digestion that I am become totally emaciated, and little remains of me but a skeleton covered with a skin."

His friends urged him to have an operation performed, but he refused, and John Adams stated: "On the question, for example, whether to be cut for the stone. The young, with a longer prospect of years, think these over-balance the pain of the operation. Dr. Franklin, at the age of eighty, thought his residuum of life not worth that price. I should have thought with him, even taking the stone out of the scale."

In April, 1790, Franklin was seized with the illness which terminated his life, an account of which was drawn up by his attending doctor, John Jones:

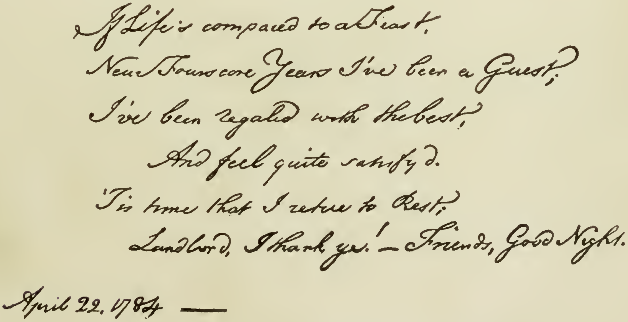
> "The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose: and in every instance dis-

played, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities; and not unfrequently indulged himself in those 'jeux d'esprit' and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

JOHN JONES, M.D.

"About sixteen days before his death he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state when the severity of his pain drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months."

According to John Adams, "it was the opinion of his own physician, Dr. Jones, he fell a sacrifice at last, not to the stone, but to his own theory, having caught the violent cold which finally choked him, by sitting for some hours at a window, with the cold air blowing upon him." "Nine men in ten are suicides," asserted Poor Richard.



If Life's compared to a Feast,
Near Fourscore Years I've been a Guest;
I've been regaled with the best,
And feel quite satisfy'd.
'Tis time that I retire to Rest;
Landlord, I thank ye! — Friends, Good Night.

April 22. 1784 —

FACSIMILE OF A POEM IN FRANKLIN'S HANDWRITING.

MEDAL GIVEN BY THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS FROM THE FRANKLIN FUND.

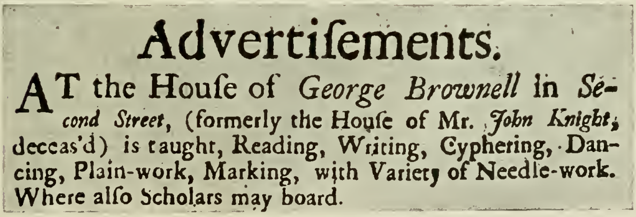
III

EDUCATION

IF the commonly accepted use of the term "education" as a synonym for the word "schooling" were adopted in the case of Franklin, there would be little need to consider this side of his personality. "I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age," he states, and remained there "not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and further was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my father in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing,—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon, but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it."

Thus began and ended all the regular tuition Franklin ever received; but slight as it was, he never forgot its benefits, and in his will was the clause:

> "I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them . . . paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them . . . put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet."



Advertiſements.

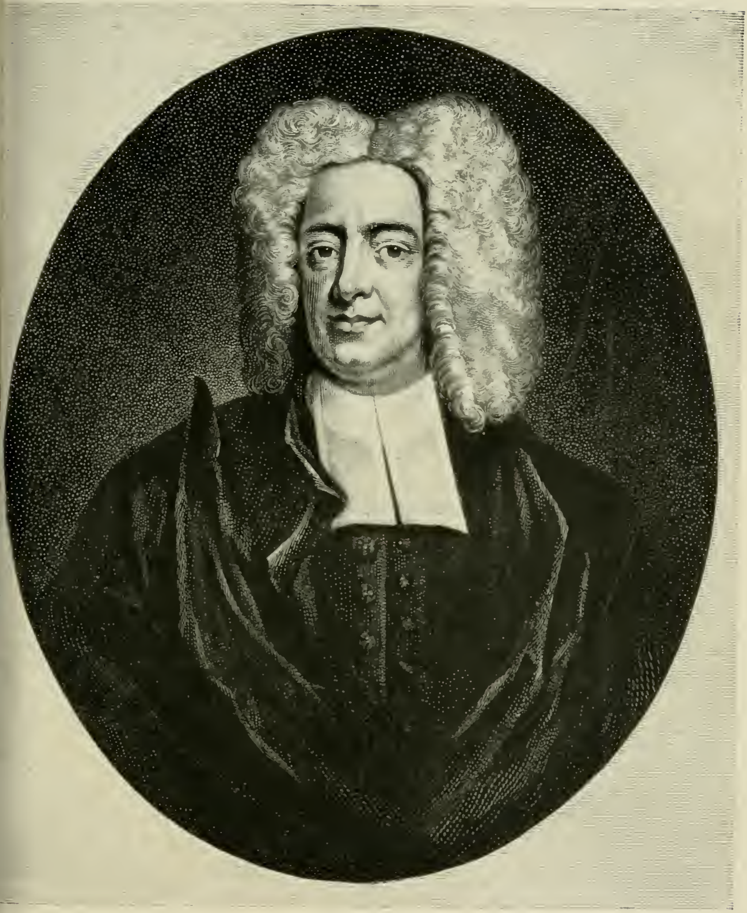
AT the Houſe of *George Brownell* in *Second Street*, (formerly the Houſe of Mr. *John Knight*, deceas'd) is taught, Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Plain-work, Marking, with Variety of Needle-work. Where alſo Scholars may board.

ADVERTISEMENT OF GEORGE BROWNELL.
From the "Pennsylvania Gazette," in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"The doors of Wisdom are never shut," affirmed Poor Richard, and if Franklin was a pupil for only two years, he seems never to have ceased to be a student.

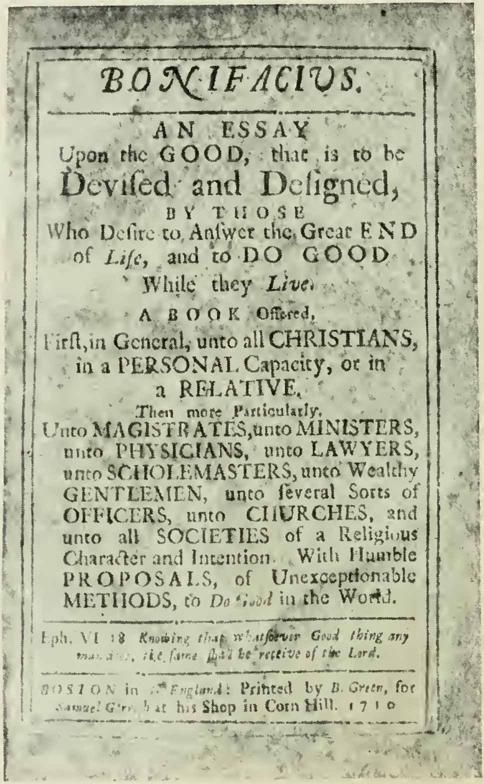
The same proverb-maker asserted that "God helps them that help themselves," and by continuous self-culture his creator became almost encyclopedic in his knowledge, and one of the best-informed and most learned men of his generation. As early as 1756 John Adams had heard of "Mr. Franklin of Philadelphia, a prodigious genius, cultivated with prodigious industry."

Franklin advised, "Read much, but not too many books"; but, as he himself said, "We may give Advice, but we cannot give Conduct," and during his whole life he was an omnivorous devourer of books. In his autobiography he mentions "my early readiness in learning to read, which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read." The taste was the more remarkable when the literature at his command is considered. From the inventory of his father's property it is learned that Josiah Franklin died possessed of two large Bibles, a concordance, Willard's "Compleat Body of Divinity,"—as dull a folio of nearly a thousand pages as was probably ever printed, written by the clergyman who married Josiah and Abiah Franklin,—and "a parcel of small books," more fully described by Franklin, who said: "My father's little library consisted of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read, and have since often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way." Yet even in this "parcel" of dry-as-dust theology the boy found some things to enjoy. "Plutarch's Lives there was, in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of



COTTON MATHER.
After a print by Henry Pelham.

De Foe's, called an Essay on Projects, and another of Dr. Mather's, called Essays to do Good, which perhaps



BONIFACIUS.

AN ESSAY
Upon the GOOD, that is to be
Deviſed and Deſigned,
BY THOSE
Who Deſire to Anſwer the Great END
of *Life*, and to DO GOOD
While they *Live*.
A BOOK Offered,
Firſt, in General, unto all CHRISTIANS,
in a PERSONAL Capacity, or in
a RELATIVE.
Then more Particularly,
Unto MAGISTRATES, unto MINISTERS,
unto PHYSICIANS, unto LAWYERS,
unto SCHOLEMASTERS, unto Wealthy
GENTLEMEN, unto ſeveral Sorts of
OFFICERS, unto CHURCHES, and
unto all SOCIETIES of a Religious
Character and Intention. With Humble
PROPOSALS, of Unexceptionable
METHODS, to *Do Good* in the World.

Eph. VI. 8. *Knowing that whatſoever Good thing any man doth, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord.*

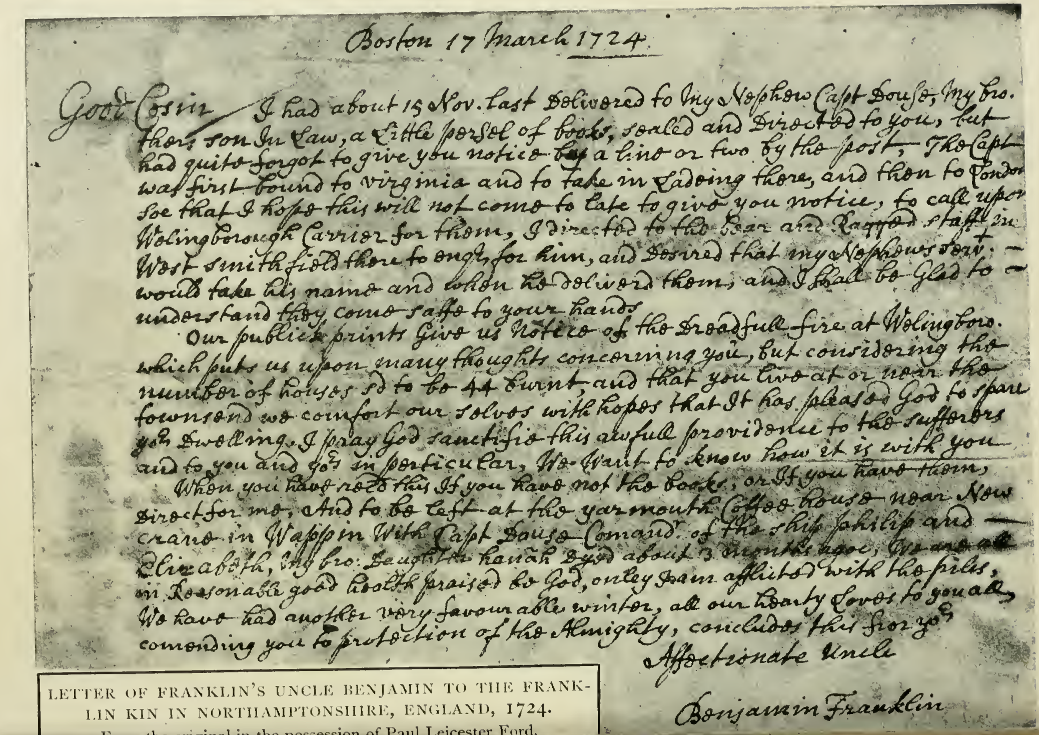
BOSTON in *N. England*: Printed by *B. Green*, for
Samuel Gerriſh at his Shop in Corn Hill. 1710

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST EDITION OF COTTON MATHER'S "ESSAY UPON THE GOOD."
In the Boston Public Library.

gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life." This little tractate made so great an impression on the youthful mind that, full seventy years after reading it, Franklin wrote to the author's son:

> "Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled 'Essays to do Good,' which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book."

Whatever might be the paucity of his father's library, the boy had a natural bent for reading, and could not be kept from books. "From a child," he declared, "I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the Pilgrim's Progress, my first collection was of John Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's Historical Collections; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 or 50 in all." The taste was no doubt whetted by the influence of his uncle Benjamin, who lived for a time in Boston, and who took not a little interest in the intellectual development of his namesake. Before the boy was five years of age his uncle began sending him monitory poems, acrostics, and letters of advice. He was not merely a confirmed scribbler, but a book-collector as well, and many years after his death Franklin became possessed of part of his library by a curious chance.



Boston 17 March 1724.

Good Cosin I had about 15 Nov. last Delivered to My Nephew Capt Douse, My bro.
thers son In Law, a Little persel of books, sealed and Directed to you, but
had quite forgot to give you notice by a line or two by the post, The Capt
was first bound to virginia and to take in Lading there, and then to London
soe that I hope this will not come to late to give you notice, to call upon
Welingborough Carrier for them, I directed to the bear and Ragged staff in
West smithfield there to enqr for him, and Desired that my Nephews son —
would take his name and when he delivered them, and I shall be Glad to —
understand they come saffe to your hands

Our publick prints Give us Notice of the Dreadfull fire at Welingboro.
which puts us upon many thoughts concerning you, but considering the
number of houses sd to be 44 burnt, and that you live at or near the
townsend we comfort our selves with hopes that It has pleased God to spare
yor Dwelling. I pray God sanctifie this awfull providence to the sufferers
and to you and yors in perticular, We Want to know how it is with you

When you have recd this If you have not the books, or If you have them,
Direct for me, And to be left at the yarmouth Coffee house near New
crane in Wappin With Capt Douse Comandr of the ship philip and —
Elizabeth, My bro: Daughter hanah Dyed about 3 months agoe, We are all
in Reasonable good health praised be God, onley I am afflited with the piles,
We have had another very favourable winter, all our hearty Loves to you all,
commending you to protection of the Almighty, concludes this from yor

Affectionate Uncle

Benjamin Franklin

LETTER OF FRANKLIN'S UNCLE BENJAMIN TO THE FRANKLIN KIN IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, ENGLAND, 1724.

From the original in the possession of Paul Leicester Ford.

"Yesterday a very odd accident happened," he wrote, "which I must mention to you, as it relates to your grandfather. A person that deals in old books, of whom I sometimes buy, acquainted me that he had a curious collection of pamphlets bound in eight volumes folio, and twenty-four volumes quarto and octavo, which he thought, from the subjects, I might like to have, and that he would sell them cheap. I desired to see them, and he brought them to me. On examining I found that they contained all the principal pamphlets and papers on public affairs that had been printed here from the Restoration down to 1715. In one of the blank leaves at the beginning of each volume the collector had written the titles of the pieces contained in it, and the price they cost him. Also notes in the margin of many of the pieces; and the collector I find, from the handwriting and various other circumstances, was . . . my uncle Benjamin. Wherefore, I the more readily agreed to buy them. I suppose he parted with them when he left England and came to Boston, . . . which was about the year 1716 or 1717, now more than fifty years since. In whose hands they have been all this time I know not. The oddity is that the bookseller, who could suspect nothing of any relation between me and the collector, should happen to make me the offer of them."

It was "this bookish inclination" which "at length determined my father to make me a printer," Franklin states; and one of the incidental advantages of the trade to him was that "I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanted. And after some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read."

Another advantage which the apprenticeship brought the lad was some money to spend. As already told, Franklin, when he became a vegetarian, agreed with his brother "that, if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books." In this way the boy amassed a considerable library. Though he "sold some of my books to raise a little money" as a preliminary to becoming a runaway apprentice, those that were left were in sufficient number to secure him notice from an important personage. "The then governor of New York, Burnet (son of Bishop Burnet), hearing from the captain that a young man, one of his passengers, had a great many books, desir'd that he would bring me to see him. . . . The Gov'r. treated me with great civility, showed me his library, which was a very large one, and we had a good deal of conversation about books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honour to take notice of me; which, to a poor boy like me, was very pleasing."

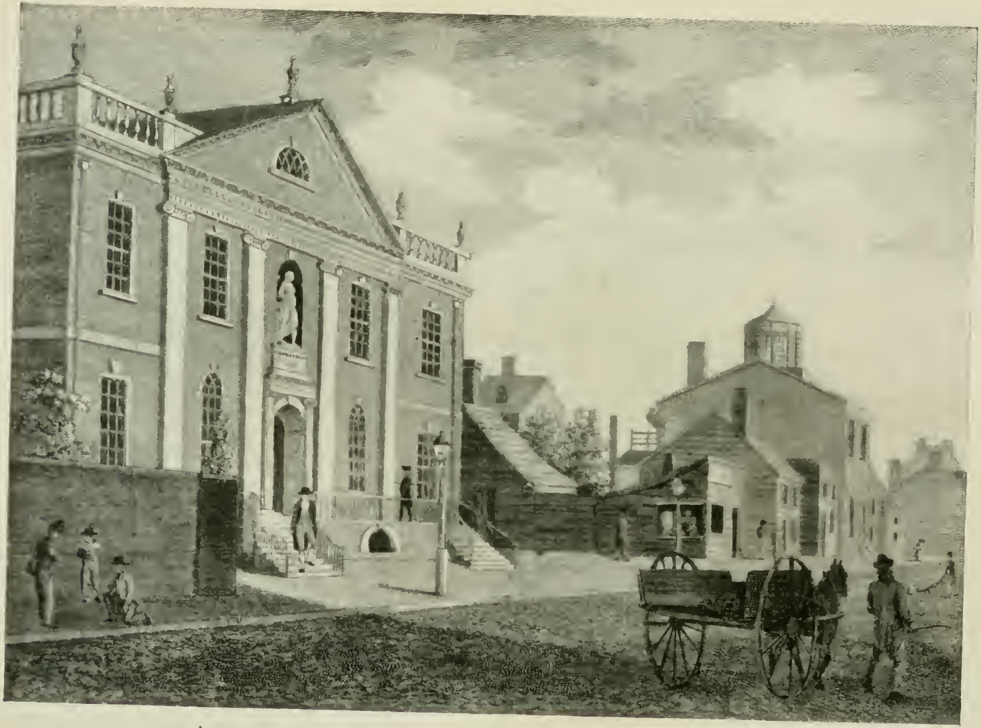
This bookishness brought a broadening and cultivation that made the boy sensitive to his previous failure in arithmetic, and "now it was that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of Arithmetick, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermy's books of navigation and became acquainted with the little geometry they contained; but never proceeded far in that science." Henceforth Franklin seems to have been a good accountant, and to have taken especial enjoyment in the problems offered by mathematics. Though he acknowledged that they were "merely *difficile nugæ*, incapable of any useful application," he "confessed" to the "late learned Mr. Logan" that "in my younger days, having once some

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BURNET OF NEW YORK.

leisure (which I still think I might have employed more usefully), I had amused myself in making . . . magic squares, and at length had acquired such a knack at it that I could fill the cells of any magic square of reasonable size, with a series of numbers as fast as I could write them, disposed in such a manner as that the sums of every row, horizontal, perpendicular, or diagonal, should be equal; but not being satisfied with these, which I looked on as common and easy things, I had imposed on myself more difficult tasks, and succeeded in making other magic squares, with a variety of properties, and much more curious." What is more, when Logan called his attention to a square of even greater complexity, "not being willing to be outdone . . . even in the size of my square, I went home, and made, that evening, a magical square of 16," which Franklin deemed "to be the most magically magical of any magical square ever made by any magician." In this the properties were:

"1. That every strait row (horizontal or vertical) of 8 numbers added together, makes 260, and half each row half 260.

"2. That the bent row of 8 numbers, ascending and descending diagonally, *viz.* from 16 ascending to 10, and from 23 descending to 17; and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers make 260.—Also the bent row from 52 descending to 54, and from 43 ascending to 45; and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers make 260.—Also the bent row from 45 to 43, descending to the left, and from 23 to 17, descending to the right, and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers, make 260.—Also the bent row from 52 to 54, descending to the right, and from 10 to 16, descending to the left, and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8

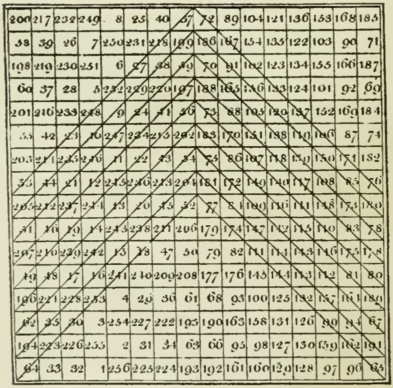


BIRCH'S VIEW OF THE OLD LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1799.
Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

numbers make 260.—Also the parallel bent rows next to the above-mentioned, which are shortened to 3 numbers ascending, and 3 descending, *&c.* as from 53 to 4 ascending, and from 29 to 44 descending, make, with the 2 corner numbers, 260.—Also the 2 numbers 14, 61 ascending, and 36, 19 descending, with the lower 4 numbers situated like them, *viz.* 50, 1, descending, and 32, 47, ascending, make 260.—And, lastly, the 4 corner numbers, with the 4 middle numbers, make 260."

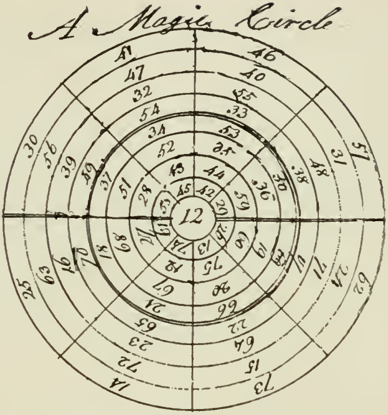
Not contented with this, he "composed also a magic circle, consisting of 8 concentric circles and 8 radial rows, filled with a series of numbers from 12 to 75 inclusive, so disposed as that the number of each circle, or each radial row, being added to the central number 12, they make exactly 360."

The brief time spent by Franklin in London as a journeyman printer was very important to him in an intellectual sense, because of an opportunity it afforded him. "While I lodg'd in Little Britain I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was at the next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any



200	217	232	249	8	25	40	57	72	89	104	121	136	153	168	185
58	39	26	7	250	231	218	199	186	167	154	135	122	103	90	71
198	219	230	251	6	27	38	59	70	91	102	123	134	155	166	187
60	37	28	5	252	229	220	197	188	165	156	133	124	101	92	69
201	216	233	248	9	24	41	56	73	88	105	120	137	152	169	184
55	42	23	10	247	234	215	202	183	170	151	138	119	106	87	74
203	214	235	246	11	22	43	54	75	86	107	118	139	150	171	182
53	44	21	12	245	236	213	204	181	172	149	140	117	108	85	76
205	212	237	244	13	20	45	52	77	84	109	116	141	148	173	180
51	46	19	14	243	238	211	206	179	174	147	142	115	110	83	78
207	210	239	242	15	18	47	50	79	82	111	114	143	146	175	178
49	48	17	16	241	240	209	208	177	176	145	144	113	112	81	80
196	221	228	253	4	29	36	61	68	93	100	125	132	157	164	189
62	35	30	3	254	227	222	195	190	163	158	131	126	99	94	67
194	223	226	255	2	31	34	63	66	95	98	127	130	159	162	191
64	33	32	1	256	225	224	193	192	161	160	129	128	97	96	65

FRANKLIN'S MAGIC SQUARE OF SQUARES.
From the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1768.

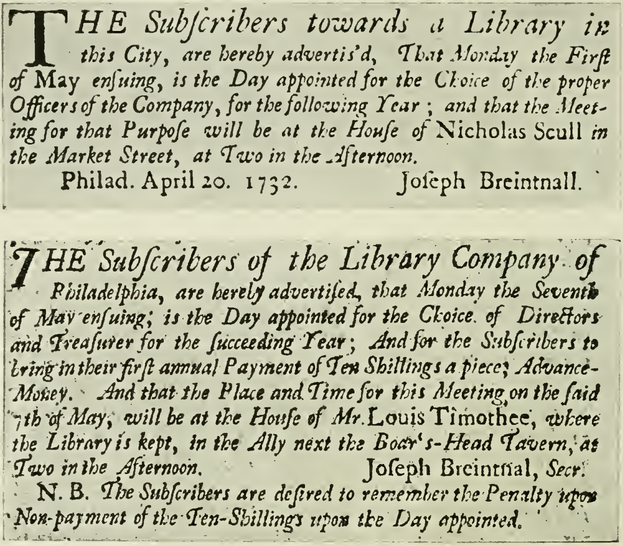


FRANKLIN'S MAGIC CIRCLE.
From his manuscript in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

of his books. This I esteem'd a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could."

In this arrangement probably lay the germ of one of Franklin's worthiest undertakings. Upon his return to Philadelphia after his London sojourn he "form'd most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club of mutual improvement," called the Junto, of a half-debating and half-social character, "which was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention upon the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here, too, we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other." About 1730,

"A proposition was made by me, that, since our books were often referr'd to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books to a common library, we should, while we lik'd to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was lik'd and agreed to, and we fill'd one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and tho' they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.



THE Subſcribers towards a Library in this City, are hereby advertis'd, That Monday the Firſt of May *enſuing, is the Day appointed for the Choice of the proper Officers of the Company, for the following Year; and that the Meeting for that Purpoſe will be at the Houſe of* Nicholas Scull *in the Market Street, at Two in the Afternoon.*

Philad. April 20. 1732. Joſeph Breintnall.

THE Subſcribers of the Library Company of Philadelphia, are hereby advertiſed, that Monday the Seventh of May enſuing, is the Day appointed for the Choice of Directors and Treaſurer for the ſucceeding Year; And for the Subſcribers to bring in their firſt annual Payment of Ten Shillings a piece; Advance-Money. And that the Place and Time for this Meeting on the ſaid 7th of May, will be at the Houſe of Mr. Louis Timothee, *where the Library is kept, in the Ally next the Boar's-Head Tavern, at Two in the Afternoon.* Joſeph Breintnal, *Secr.*

N. B. *The Subſcribers are deſired to remember the Penalty upon Non-payment of the Ten-Shillings upon the Day appointed.*

THE TWO EARLIEST ADVERTISEMENTS CONCERNING THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.
From Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette," in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and, by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtain'd a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges."

After the library was well started, Franklin continued to work for it in many ways. He aided it to obtain books from Europe, served as secretary for several years, and was for long a director; but the institution amply repaid his trouble, for, in his own words: "This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repair'd in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allow'd myself." In the last year of his life the Library Company outgrew its quarters, and he was asked by the then board of trustees, in recognition of the fact that the people of Philadelphia were "indebted to Dr. Franklin for the *first idea* as well as *execution* of the plan of a Public Library," to write an inscription to be placed in the new building, which should "perpetuate a grateful remembrance of it." Franklin accordingly prepared a draft, but carefully omitted "any mention of himself in the proposed Inscription," and he even "wrote it at first without the words 'cheerfully, and at the instance of one of them.'" However, in compliance with the urging of the members, he added them, "though he still thinks it would be better without them." The committee accepted his essay, but inserted a line properly commemorating his share.

As Franklin was instrumental in founding a circulating library, that those not possessing books might obtain the use of them, so he made his own collection of books serve a similar purpose. But he seems to have been as heedless a lender of books as the proverbial borrower is, and recurrent advertisements in his paper show his lapses of memory, and his attempts to jog the equally forgetful minds of those he had obliged.

"The Person that borrow'd B. Franklin's Law-Book of this Province, is hereby desired to return it, he having forgot to whom he lent it."

"Lent some time since a Book entitled Campbell's Vitruvius Brittannico's, the Person who has it is desired to return it to the Printer hereof. Also the first Volume of Clarendon's History."

"Lent above a Twelvemonth ago, the second Vol. of Select Trials, for Murders, Robberies, Rapes, Sodomy, Coining, Frauds, and other Offences, at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey: Which not being return'd to the Owner, he desires the Person who has the Book in possession, to send it to the Printer of this Paper."

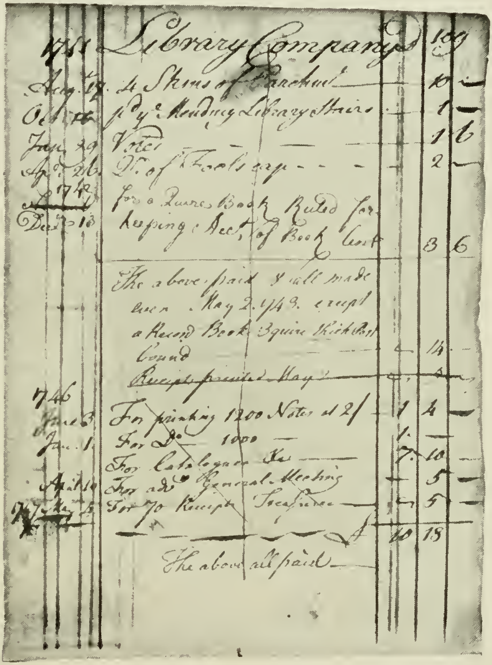
"Lent to Capt. Lawrie (and left by him in the Hands of some of his Acquaintance in Philadelphia) the second Volume of State Trials, wrote on the Title-Page, William Shaw. The Person who has it, is requested to bring it to the Printer hereof."

"Lent, and forgot to whom, Wood's Institutes of the Laws of England, Folio. The Person that has it, is desired to return it to the Printer hereof."

"Lent, but forgot to whom, the second Volume of Pamela; also the first Volume of the Turkish Spy. The persons that have them, are desired to send them to the Post-Office."

Franklin's counsel to a woman friend probably gives his own system of reading:

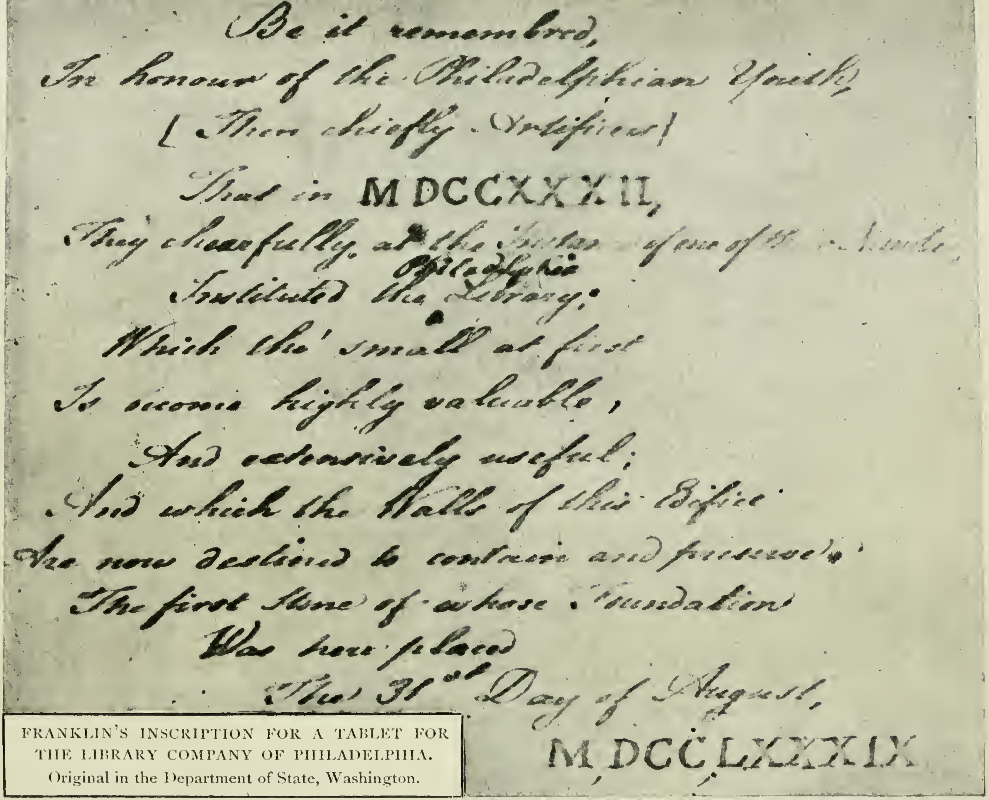
"I would advise you," he said, "to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready, either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility, or at least to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity. And



1741	Library Company		109	
Aug. 17.	4 Skins of Parchmt		10	—
Oct. [illegible]	pd ye Reading Library Stairs		1	—
Jany 29	Votes		1	6
Apl 26	Do of Foolscap		2	—
1742 Decr 13	for a Quire Book Ruled for keeping Acct of Books lent		3	6
	The above paid & all made even May 2. 1743. except a Record Book 3 quire thick [illegible] bound	4	14	—
	Receipts printed May [illegible]			
1746 June 3	For printing 1200 Notes at 2/	1	4	—
Jan. 1	For Do 1000	1	—	—
	For Catalogues &c	7	10	—
April 14	For advt General Meeting	—	5	—
1747 May 5	For 70 Receipts Treasurer	—	5	—
		10	18	
	The above all paid			

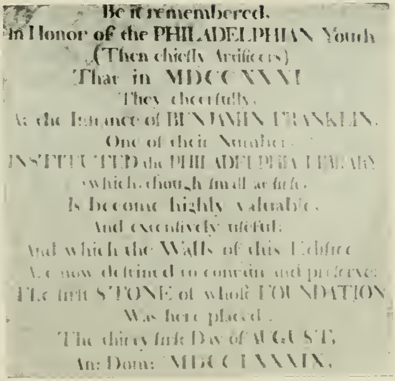
FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNT WITH THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

From his ledger in the American Philosophical Society.



Be it remembered,
In honour of the Philadelphian Youth,
[Then chiefly Artificers]
That in MDCCXXXII,
They cheerfully, at the Instance of one of their Number,
Instituted the Philadelphia Library;
Which tho' small at first
Is become highly valuable,
And extensively useful;
And which the Walls of this Edifice
Are now destined to contain and preserve:
The first Stone of whose Foundation
Was here placed
The 31st Day of August,
MDCCLXXXIX

FRANKLIN'S INSCRIPTION FOR A TABLET FOR THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.
Original in the Department of State, Washington.



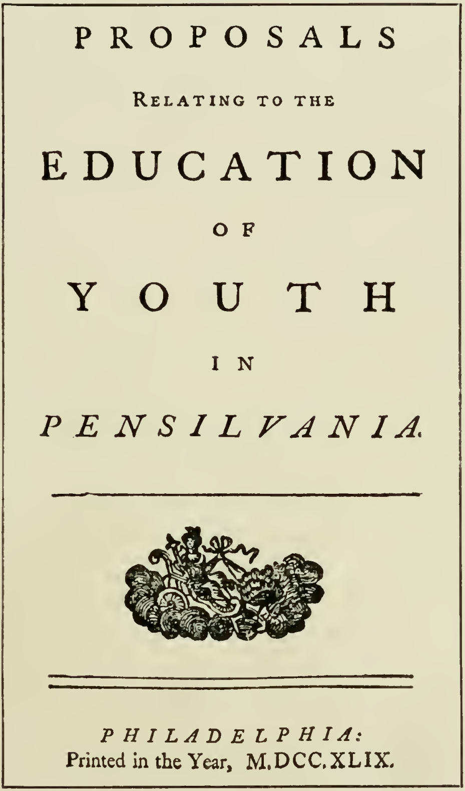
Be it remembered,
In Honor of the PHILADELPHIAN Youth
(Then chiefly Artificers)
That in MDCCXXXI
They cheerfully,
At the Inſtance of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
One of their Number,
INSTITUTED the PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY
which, though ſmall at firſt,
Is become highly valuable,
And extenſively uſeful:
And which the Walls of this Edifice
Are now deſtined to contain and preſerve:
The firſt STONE of whoſe FOUNDATION
Was here placed,
The thirty firſt Day of AUGUST,
An: Dom: MDCCLXXXIX.

THE INSCRIPTION FOR THE LIBRARY COMPANY ACTUALLY ADOPTED BY THE TRUSTEES.

as many of the terms of science are such, as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms; and in the mean time you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding.

"When any point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books, where it may most readily be found."

His own experience served to teach Franklin that a strong mind needs no schooling to develop it, and that a poor mind is not strengthened by study. Poor Richard made merry over the "many witty men whose brains cannot fill their bellies," and over those who "would live by their Wits, but break for want of stock." "A learned blockhead is a greater blockhead than an ignorant one," he asserted, and claimed that "of learned fools I have seen ten times ten; of unlearned wise men, I have seen a hundred." Yet Franklin was far from showing the usual contempt of the self-taught man for an academic education. On his settling in Philadelphia he found "two things which I regretted," and one of these was "there being no provision . . . for the compleat education of youth. . . . I therefore in 1743 drew up a proposal for establishing an academy," but the country then being engaged in a war, he "let the scheme lie for a time dormant." Peace made, he resumed the project in good earnest. "The first step was to associate in the design a number of active friends; . . . the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled 'Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.'" In this he outlined what presumably was his ideal of an education. There was to be a house in a high and dry situation, not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow, and a field or two, a library and an equipment of scientific apparatus; the scholars were to live plainly and temperately, and to be "frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling and swimming." "As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught *every thing* that is useful and *every thing* that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be *most* useful and *most* ornamental, regard being had for the several professions for which they are intended." Franklin's own predilection "went no further than to procure the means of a good English education," and he particularly insisted in his pamphlet that the rector of the school should be "a correct, pure speaker and writer of English."



PROPOSALS

RELATING TO THE

EDUCATION

OF

YOUTH

IN

PENSILVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed in the Year, M.DCC.XLIX.

TITLE-PAGE OF FRANKLIN'S PROPOSAL RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"A number of my friends to whom I communicated the proposal concurred with me in these ideas; but . . . other persons of wealth and learning, whose subscription and countenance we should need, being of opinion that it ought to include the learned languages, I submitted my judgment to theirs, retaining, however, a strong prepossession in favour of my first plan and resolving to preserve as much of it as I could and to nourish the English school by every means in my power."

In aid of this he published, in 1751, "A Scheme of an English School," and, as president of the trustees, did what he could to prevent his purpose from being stifled by an undue regard for classical learning. But though, in the words of a contemporary, Franklin was the "soul of the whole" project, he could not prevent the waning of the one or the waxing of the other. The Rev. William Smith, who became rector by Franklin's choice and influence, gave him no aid in his fight against the dead languages, and allowed the English school to lapse. As if this were not a sufficient miscarriage of Franklin's hopes, the academy, as it grew into a college, became an organ of politics, and a hotbed from which issued many of the pamphlet and newspaper attacks on its chief founder and the party with which he was associated, the rector himself being the most active in the paper war. With far more bitterness than was usual with Franklin, he wrote of these attacks:

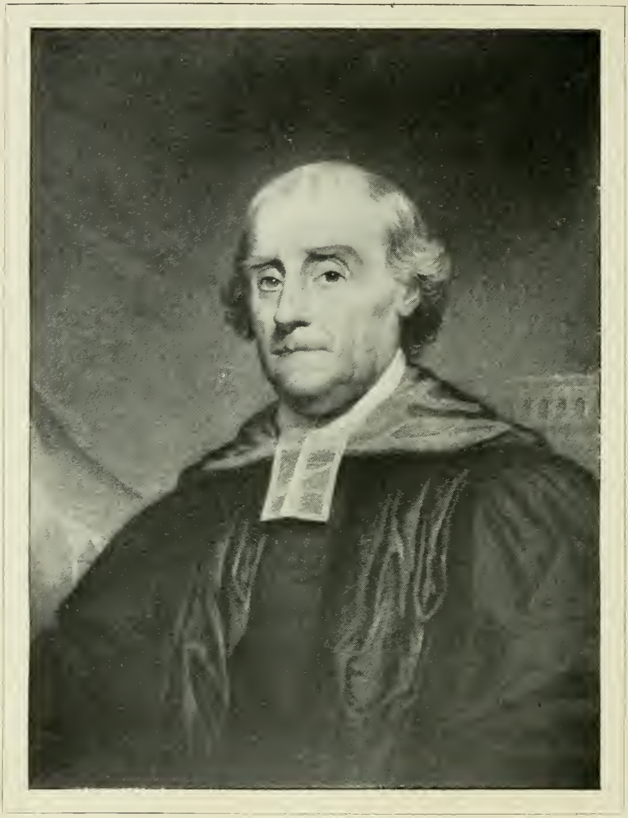
"Before I left Philadelphia, everything to be done in the Academy was privately preconcerted in a Cabal without my Knowledge or Participation and accordingly carried into Execution. The Schemes of Public Parties made it seem requisite to lessen my Influence wherever it could be lessened. The Trustees had reap'd the full Advantage of my Head, Hands, Heart and Purse, in getting through the first Difficulties of the Design, and when they thought they could do without me, they laid me aside. I wish Success to the

Schools nevertheless and am sorry to hear that the whole Number of Scholars does not at present exceed an hundred & forty."

After the Revolution, when the old local contests were dead and buried, Franklin, upon his return to America, received an address of welcome from the institution he had been so largely instrumental in founding, now become the University of Pennsylvania, and was promptly elected president of the trustees, the same position he had held almost fifty years before. His views on the subject of ancient and modern learning had not changed, however, and almost the last paper ever penned by him was one entitled "Observations relative to the intentions of the original founders of the Academy in Philadelphia," which is a plea for an English rather than a classical education, and which, in his usual happy manner, he brought to an end with an anecdote, to point his argument.

"There is in mankind," he wrote, "an unaccountable prejudice in favor of ancient customs and habitudes, which inclines to a continuance of them after the circumstances which formerly made them useful cease to exist. A multitude of instances might be given, but it may suffice to mention one. Hats were once thought a useful part of dress; they kept the head warm and screened it from the violent impression of the sun's rays, and from the rain, snow, hail, etc. . . .

"Gradually, however, as the wearing of wigs and hair nicely dressed prevailed, the putting on of hats was disused by genteel people, lest the curious arrangements of the curls and powdering should be disordered, and umbrellas began to supply their place; yet still our considering the hat as a part of the dress continues so far to prevail that a man of fashion



THE REVEREND WILLIAM SMITH.
After the painting by Gilbert Stuart, in the possession of Dr. John H. Brinton.

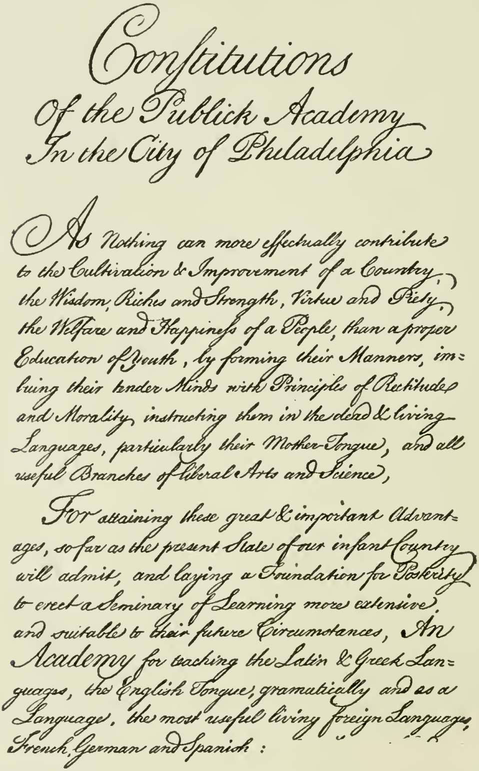
is not thought dressed without having one, or something like one, about him, which he carries under his arm. So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts in capital cities of Europe who have never, nor their fathers before them, worn a hat otherwise than as a *chapeau bras*, though the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no

> means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expense but with a degree of constant trouble.
>
> "The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children in these days the Latin and Greek languages I consider therefore in no other light than as the *chapeau bras* of modern literature."

The Philadelphia Academy was only the principal of Franklin's endeavors to foster education, and he gave time and money in aid of several institutions. With others, he labored to make education commoner by establishing an "English school at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Hanover and Skippack." He was a member of a "Society for the Education of the Germans" in Pennsylvania. In 1760 he became one of what were termed "Dr. Bray's Associates," having for an object the founding of schools for the education of negroes and Indians, and he served for a time as chairman of the society. After the Revolution he outlined in a letter to Washington a scheme for the improvement of free negroes, which included a "Committee of Education" that was to "superintend the school instruction of the children of free blacks." It is amusing to note that once he was made to contribute to an educational scheme of which he disapproved. Whitefield, the itinerant preacher, was "inspir'd" by a sight of the miserable situation "of the new colonists in Georgia, with the idea of building an Orphan House there," in which the "helpless children" might be "supported and educated."

> "I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed

to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, and brought the children to it. This I advis'd; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refus'd to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one



Conſtitutions
Of the Publick Academy
In the City of Philadelphia

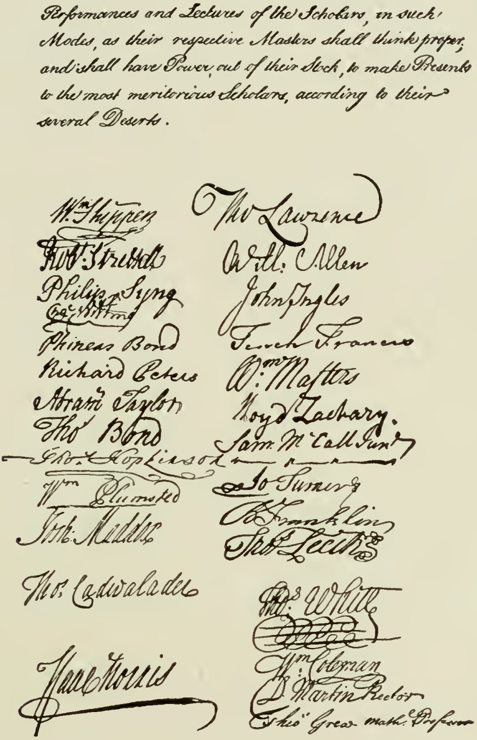
As Nothing can more effectually contribute to the Cultivation & Improvement of a Country, the Wisdom, Riches and Strength, Virtue and Piety, the Welfare and Happineſs of a People, than a proper Education of Youth, by forming their Manners, imbuing their tender Minds with Principles of Rectitude and Morality, instructing them in the dead & living Languages, particularly their Mother-Tongue, and all useful Branches of liberal Arts and Science,

For attaining these great & important Advantages, so far as the present State of our infant Country will admit, and laying a Foundation for Posterity to erect a Seminary of Learning more extensive, and suitable to their future Circumstances, An Academy for teaching the Latin & Greek Languages, the English Tongue, gramatically and as a Language, the most useful living foreign Languages, French, German and Spanish :

PART OF FIRST PAGE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY AS DRAWN UP BY FRANKLIN AND FRANCIS, 1749.

In the University of Pennsylvania.

of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me asham'd of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all."



Performances and Lectures of the Scholars, in such Modes, as their respective Masters shall think proper, and shall have Power, out of their Stock, to make Presents to the most meritorious Scholars, according to their several Deserts.

Wm Shippen
Robt Strettell
Philip Syng
Chas Willing
Phineas Bond
Richard Peters
Abram Taylor
Thos Bond
Thos Hopkinson
Wm Plumsted
Josh Maddox
Thos Cadwalader
Isaac Norris

Thos Lawrence
Will: Allen
John Inglis
Tench Francis
Wm Masters
Lloyd Zachary.
Sam McCall Junr
Jo Turner
B Franklin
Thos Leech
Thos White
Wm Coleman
D Martin Rector
Theo Grew math. Profesr

THE LAST PAGE.

An interesting educational view he held was on women's training, and one far in advance not merely of his time, but even of to-day. Having established a printer in South Carolina on a profit-sharing agreement, his decease threatened a loss to Franklin; but

> "The business was continued by his widow, who, being born and bred in Holland, where, as I have been inform'd, the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education, she not only sent me as clear a state as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter afterwards, and managed the business with such success, that she not only brought up reputably a family of children, but, at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it.
>
> "I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young females, as likely to be of more use to them and their children, in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing, by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue, perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with establish'd correspondence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it, to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family."

Franklin put more stress on this practical training for women than he did on even the elements of education. Though he told his wife that he wished his daughter Sally would "be a little more careful of her spelling," of one correspondent he asked: "Why do you never write to me? I used to love to read your letters, and I regret your long silence. They were seasoned with good sense and friendship, and even your spelling pleased me. Polly knows I think the worst spelling the best." So, when Jane Mecom asked him to "pray forgive the very bad spelling, and every other defect, and don't let it mortify you that such a scrawl came from your sister," he answered: "You need not be concerned in writing to me about your bad spelling, for, in my opinion, as our alphabet now stands, bad spelling, or what is called so, is generally the best, as conforming to the sound of the letters and of the words." Then, as usual, to reinforce his own opinion, he goes on with a story:

> "A gentleman received a letter, in which were these words: *Not finding Brown at hom, I delivered your meseg to his yf.* The gentleman, finding it bad spelling, and therefore not very intelligible, called his lady to help him read it. Between them they picked out the meaning of all but the *yf*, which they could not understand. The lady proposed calling her chambermaid, 'because Betty,' says she, 'has the best knack at reading bad spelling of any one I know.' Betty came, and was surprised that neither sir nor madam could tell what *yf* was. 'Why,' says she, '*yf* spells *wife;* what else can it spell?' And, indeed, it is a much better, as well as shorter method of spelling *wife*, than *doubleyou*, *i*, *ef*, *e*, which in reality spell *doubleyifey*."

"I think," his sister replied, "sir and madam were very deficient in sagacity that they could not find out *yf* as well as Betty, but sometimes the Betties have the brightest understanding."

As this would suggest, Franklin early became a spelling-reformer, and went so far as to prepare a new alphabet, thinking a "reformation not only necessary, but practicable," though he foresaw that it must come gradually, if at all. And as one step toward making clear the absurdity of English spelling, he drew up his "Petition of the Letter Z," in which it complains:

> "That he is not only actually placed at the tail of the Alphabet, when he had as much right as any other to be at the head; but is by the injustice of his enemies totally excluded from the word WISE; and his place injuriously filled by a little hissing, crooked, serpentine, venomous letter, called S, when it must be evident to your worship, and to all the world, that W, I, S, E, do not spell *Wize*, but *Wise*.
>
> "Your petitioner therefore prays, that the Alphabet may by your censorial authority be reversed; and that in consideration of his long-suffering and patience he may be placed at the head of it; that *s* may be turned out of the word *Wise*, and the petitioner employed instead of him."

THE PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY.
From a pencil-drawing made by Du Simitière, in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

As his attitude toward the classics suggests, Franklin did not set a high value on college training. One of Mrs. Dogood's letters, contributed by the printer's apprentice to his brother's newspaper shortly after his father had reached the decision not to send his son to Harvard, discusses that "Temple of Learning" and the New England tendency of "every Peasant, who had the wherewithal . . . to send one of his Children at least to this famous Place," in which, as " most of them consulted their own Purses instead of their Childrens Capacities, . . . I observed, a great many, yea, the most part of those who were travelling thither, were little better than Dunces and Blockheads," so that, after graduation, " many of them from henceforth for want of Patrimony, liv'd as poor as Church Mice, being unable to dig, and asham'd to beg, and to live by their Wits it was impossible." Sixty-two years after this was written, in a little account of the American Indians, Franklin told a story evidently intended to illustrate his averment that " most of the learning in use is of no great use," and to show the difference between book-knowledge and real knowledge. At an Indian treaty in 1744 he relates:

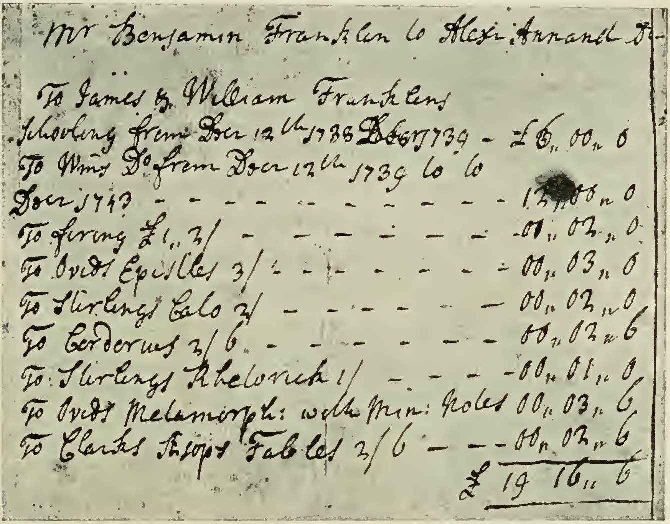
> " After the principal business was settled, the commissioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a speech that there was at Williamsburg a college, with a fund for educating Indian youth; and that, if the Six Nations would send down half a dozen of their young lads to that college, the government would take care that they should be well provided for, and instructed in all the learning of the white people. . . . ' We are convinced,' the Indians replied, ' that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it; several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, nor kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors,

nor counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make *men* of them.' "

In a more concrete form, too, Franklin testified to the slight value he placed upon college training. He saw to it that both his son William and his nephew James were properly taught, but he sent neither to a university. When William Franklin put his son into the Pennsylvania College, the grandfather did not hesitate to withdraw him that he might take him to France, thus ending his further education. So, too, with his other grandson, though having a choice of all the universities of Europe, he gave him only an ordinary education at a school in Geneva.

Joke as Franklin would, however, at "Mr. Fogg," who explains "English by Greek," and at the man who "was so learned, that he could name a horse in nine languages: so ignorant, that he bought a cow to ride on," one of the compliments which especially pleased him was the recognition of his contributions to science by the colleges. When Yale and Harvard both gave him the degree of master of arts, he was proud that "without studying at any college, I came to partake of their honours"; and when the Universities of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Oxford in succession conferred on him the degrees of LL. D. or D. C. L., he was heedful to advertise the new honors on the title-pages of his books.

Franklin's disapproval of the dead languages was not akin to that of the fox for the grapes. Though the boy had only one year at the Boston grammar-school, most of the Dogood letters were headed by a quotation from Cicero, Seneca, Terence, or some other Latin author of repute. In the years following, however, he seems to have paid more attention to other tongues, and allowed his knowledge of Latin to grow rusty. He says in his autobiography:



Mr Benjamin Franklin to Alexr Annand Dr

To James & William Franklins	
Schooling from Decr 12th 1738 Decr 1739 -	£6,, 00,, 0
To Wms Do from Decr 12th 1739 to 6	
Decr 1743 - - - - - - - - - - -	12,, 00,, 0
To firing £1,, 2/ - - - - - - -	01,, 02,, 0
To Ovids Epistles 3/ - - - - - - - -	00,, 03,, 0
To Stirlings Cato 2/ - - - - - - -	00,, 02,, 0
To Corderius 2/6 - - - - - - -	00,, 02,, 6
To Stirlings Rhetorick 1/ - - - -	00,, 01,, 0
To Ovids Metamorph: with Min: Notes	00,, 03,, 6
To Clarks Æsops Fables 2/6 - - -	00,, 02,, 6
	£ 19 16,, 6

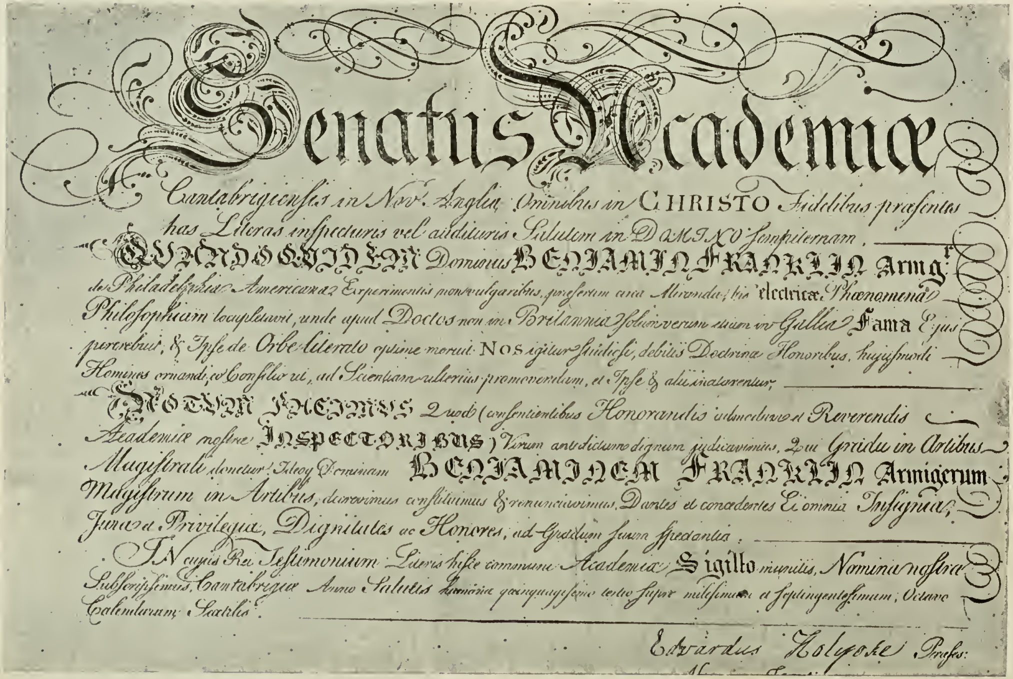
SCHOOL BILL FOR FRANKLIN'S NEPHEW AND SON.
From the original in the American Philosophical Society.

> "I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquain-

tance, who was also learning it, us'd often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refus'd to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have the right to impose a task, either in parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, etc., which tasks the vanquish'd was to perform on honour, before our next meeting. As we play'd pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards with a little painstaking, acquir'd as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

"But when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood more of that language than I had imagined; which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with the more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way. From these circumstances, I have thought there was some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with Latin, and having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are derived from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true that if we can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, we shall more easily gain them in descending; but certainly if we begin with the lowest, we shall with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether, since many of those who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost, it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, etc. For, tho', after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two that being in modern use might be serviceable to them in common life."

In thus acquiring languages, Franklin was far from learning to speak or even to write them. During his



Senatus Academiæ
Cantabrigienſis in Nov: Anglia, Omnibus in CHRISTO Fidelibus præſentes
has Literas inſpecturis vel audituris Salutem in DOMINO ſempiternam.
QUANDOQUIDEM Dominus BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Armig:r
de Philadelphia Americana Experimentis non vulgaribus, præſertim circa Miranda Vis electricæ Phænomena
Philoſophiam locupletavit, unde apud Doctos non in Britannia ſolum verum etiam in Gallia Fama Ejus
percrebuit; & Ipſe de Orbe literato optime meruit. NOS igitur ſtudioſi, debitis Doctrinæ Honoribus, hujuſmodi
Homines ornandi, eo Conſilio ut, ad Scientiam ulterius promovendum, et Ipſe & alii incitarentur;
NOTUM FACIMUS Quod (conſentientibus Honorandis admodum et Reverendis
Academiæ noſtræ INSPECTORIBUS) Virum antedictum dignum judicavimus, Qui Gradu in Artibus
Magiſtrali donetur: Ideoq; Dominum BENJAMINEM FRANKLIN Armigerum
Magiſtrum in Artibus, decrevimus conſtituimus & renunciavimus, Dantes et concedentes Ei omnia Inſignia,
Jura et Privilegia, Dignitates ac Honores, ad Gradum ſuum ſpectantia.
IN cujus Rei Teſtimonium Literis hiſce communi Academiæ Sigillo munitis, Nomina noſtra
Subſcripſimus, Cantabrigiæ Anno Salutis humanæ quinquageſimo tertio ſupra milleſimum et ſeptingenteſimum; Octavo
Calendarum Sextilis.

Edvardus Holyoke Præſes:

FRANKLIN'S DEGREE OF M. A. FROM HARVARD COLLEGE, 1753.
Original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

first trip to France, in 1767, he was compelled to rely on an interpreter in his social intercourse, and it was probably on this visit that his lack of facility in French occasioned an amusing incident. Franklin attended one of the meetings of the French Academy, and not being able to understand the speaker, yet not choosing to show it, he adopted the subterfuge of watching a friend, Mme. de Boufflers, and applauding whenever she gave evidence of approval. Unfortunately, the lady liked best certain eulogistic remarks on the visitor, and thus Franklin clapped his own praises the loudest.

On his being sent to France in 1776 as a commissioner from America, he set himself to learn to speak and write French; but he was now a man of seventy, and it did not come easily to him. The British ambassador, who kept close watch on his proceedings, reported to his government, anent an interview of Franklin with the Duc de Choiseul: " It is very possible that M. de Belgioso was desired to act as interpreter, as Franklin does not speak French with any Facility." After he had had eighteen months of French life, his fellow-diplomat, John Adams, said:

> " Dr. Franklin is reported to speak French very well, but I find, upon attending to him, that he does not speak it grammatically, and, indeed, upon inquiring, he confesses that he is wholly inattentive to the grammar. His pronunciation, too, upon which the French gentlemen and ladies compliment him, and which he seems to think is pretty well, I am sure is very far from being exact."

So, too, John Baynes, who was in Paris in 1783, notes that Franklin " could not make much out " of a certain

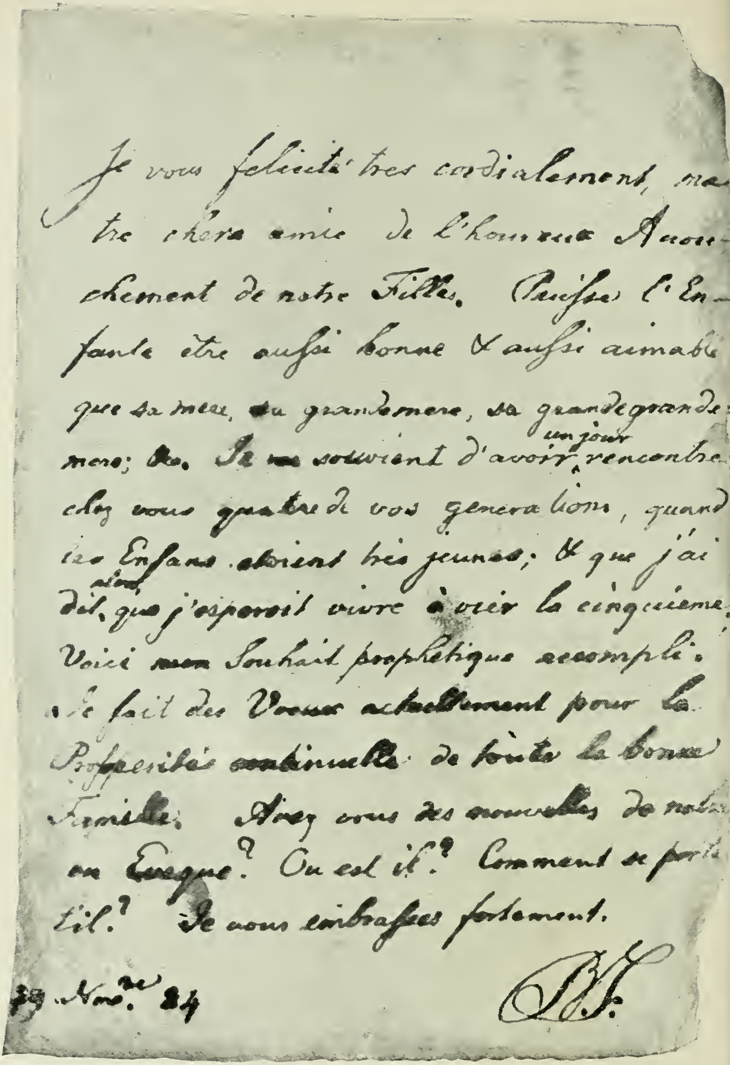
Frenchman who had been presented to him, he "having rather an obscure mode of expressing himself."

Nor was the minister a better Frenchman with pen than with tongue, though he sought the aid of his French friends in an endeavor to improve himself, and wrote out exercises for them to correct, with an apology because

> "I am conscious that I have written here a great deal of very bad french; it may disgust you who write that charming language with so much purity and elegance. But if you can finally decipher my awkward and unfit expressions you will perhaps have at least that kind of pleasure that one has in solving enigmas, or discovering secrets."

His chief teacher was Mme. Brillon, and the character of her task can be judged by one letter, in which she told her pupil that he must say "plus *de* (not que) 40 années; Penser *a* (not de) une chose; D'avoir permission (not d'être permis); Peutêtre m'addresserai (not je m'addresserai)." But in pointing out the inaccuracies, she made little of them. "What you call your bad french, often gives a spice to your narration by the construction of your sentences and by the words which you invent," she told him, and "If your french is not very pure, it is at least very clear!" Writing of his attempted amendment of a bagatelle, she said:

> "Your *correctings* of the french believe me have spoiled your work, leave your works as they are, faults of words that tell something, and laugh at grammarians who for purity weaken all your phrases: if I had a good enough mind I should write a terrible diatribe against those who dare to touch you up, were it the Abbé de la Roche."



Je vous felicité tres cordialement, ma tre chère amie de l'heureux Accouchement de notre Fille. Puisse l'Enfante être aussi bonne & aussi aimable que sa mere, sa grandemere, sa grandegrandemere; &c. Il me souvient d'avoir un jour rencontré chez vous quatre de vos generations, quand les Enfans etoient tres jeunes; & que j'ai dit alors que j'esperoit vivre à voir la cinquieme. Voici mon Souhait prophetique accompli. Je fait des Voeux actuellement pour la Prosperité continuelle de toute la bonne Famille. Avez vous des nouvelles de notre Eveque? Ou est il? Comment se porte til? Je vous embrasses fortement.

B.F.

29 Nov.^{re} 84

A LETTER OF FRANKLIN'S IN FRENCH.
In the American Philosophical Society.

Finally he sent her a draft, and when it was returned, she had nothing but praise: "Bravo, Bravissimo! the letter for mr. de Rayneval contains nothing to correct and mr. Franklin only sent it to me from excess of self love." Yet even such a testimony did not make Franklin trustful of his French, and after his return to America he felt it necessary to excuse it to his correspondents. "I have just been writing a French letter to Mademoiselle Chaumont," he informed one, "but it costs me too much time to write in that language, and after all 't is very bad French, and I therefore write to you in English, which I think you will as easily understand; if not, ma chere amie, Sophie, can interpret it for you."

As instanced by his purchase of his uncle Benjamin's books, Franklin made the most of his years in London, from 1757 to 1775, to collect books, though he was no bibliomaniac, and, indeed, satirized the class in the stanza:

"Pollio, who values nothing that 's within,
Buys books as men hunt beavers—for their skin."

When the time came for his return to America, he expressed amazement at the number of volumes which had accumulated. In going to France a twelvemonth later, he left his library in the hands of his daughter, and when, a few weeks after his sailing, the British threatened to capture Philadelphia, "Your library we sent out of town, well packed in boxes." A year after, when the British army gained possession of the city, a similar precaution was not taken, and this resulted in the loss of a number of his books in the following manner:

> "When Major Andre was with the British army in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War he was quartered at the house of Dr. Franklin who had left in it much furniture and also his library. When the enemy were about to evacuate the City M. du Simitiere, a well known Italian gentleman attached to science and the fine arts, and well acquainted with Andre, waited upon him to take leave and to solicit his interest in their prevention if any irregularities should ensue upon their leaving the City. He found the Major in the library busily employed in packing up some books and placing them among his own baggage. . . . Du Simitiere said he was shocked at the procedure, and told him, in order that he might make the inference, of the strictly just and honorable conduct of the Hessian General Knyphausen with respect to General Cadwalader's house and property which had been in his possession. He (Gen. K.) had sent for the agent of General Cadwalader, and giving him an inventory which he had caused his steward to make out upon their obtaining possession, desired him to observe that all was left as they had found it, even to some wine in the cellar, every bottle of which was left, and he also paid the agent rent for the time he had been in the house. But the recital of the German General's honesty made no impression on the Major, as he carried off the books."

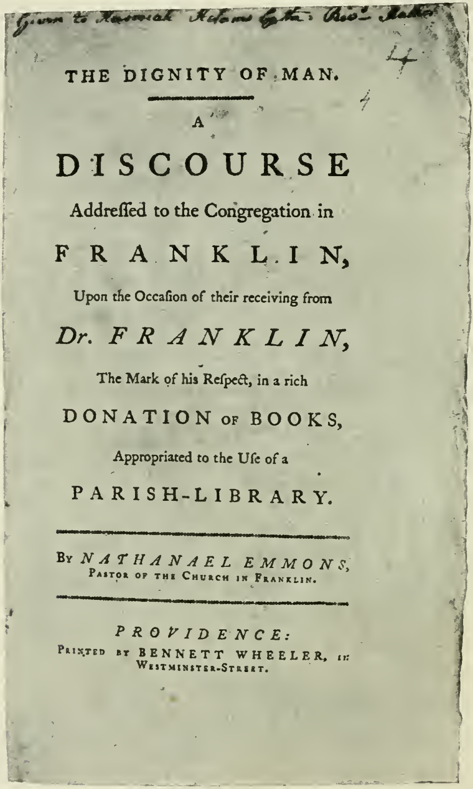
Though separated from his library while in France, Franklin did not lack for books, and one of the indictments Madame Gout brought against him was that, "While the mornings are long, and you have leisure to go abroad, what do you do? Why, instead of gaining an appetite for breakfast, by salutary exercise, you amuse yourself with books, pamphlets, or newspapers, which commonly are not worth the reading." Yet his public and social duties robbed him of many hours, and

Jefferson records that " Dr. Franklin used to say that when he was young, and had time to read, he had not books, and now when he had become old, and had books, he had no time."

It was during his stay in France that he gave a public testimony to the value he set upon books. A town in Massachusetts named itself " Franklin," and its minister, the Rev. Nathanael Emmons, a connection of Franklin, wrote to him and asked if he would not, as a sort of sponsorial present, give the town a bell for its church, to be placed in a steeple they purposed to erect. " I have advised the sparing themselves the expense of a steeple," the utilitarian wrote a friend, whom he requested to select books to the value of twenty-five pounds, and these obtained, he sent them in lieu of a bell. Apparently, the substitute was satisfactory, for the minister preached a sermon on the gift, and when it was printed, the dedicatory page ran: " To his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, President of the State of Pennsylvania, the Ornament of Genius, the Patron of Science, and the Boast of Man, this Discourse is Inscribed, with the Greatest Deference, Humility, and Gratitude, by his Obliged and most Humble Servant, the Author."

Upon his final return to America, he brought with him eighteen " large boxes of books," and his collection had now become of such a size that, in rebuilding his house, he was forced to enlarge very much his library room. The Rev. Manasseh Cutler has left a description of the old man and his books which gives a pleasant glimpse of them both:

"After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with book-shelves filled with books; besides, there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the Chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is



Given to Hannah Adams by the Revd. Author

4

THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

A

DISCOURSE

Addreſſed to the Congregation in

FRANKLIN,

Upon the Occaſion of their receiving from

Dr. FRANKLIN,

The Mark of his Reſpect, in a rich

DONATION OF BOOKS,

Appropriated to the Uſe of a

PARISH-LIBRARY.

BY *NATHANAEL EMMONS,*
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN FRANKLIN.

PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY BENNETT WHEELER, IN
WESTMINSTER-STREET.

TITLE-PAGE OF EMMONS'S SERMON ON FRANKLIN'S GIFT OF BOOKS.
In the Boston Public Library.

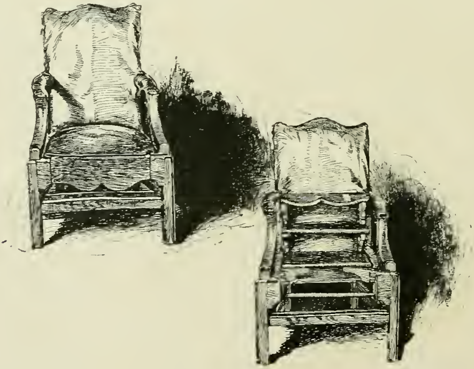
the largest, and by far the best, private library in America. He . . . showed us his long artificial arm and hand for taking down and putting books up on high shelves which are out of reach; and his great armed chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, etc., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of his foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel-tree, he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe. But what the Doctor wished principally to show to me was a huge volume on Botany, and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large that it was with great difficulty that the Doctor was able to raise it from a low shelf and lift it on to the table; but with that senile ambition common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole Linnæus Systima Vegetabilia, with large cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. . . . The Doctor seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on Philosophical subjects, and particularly that of natural History, while the other Gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance to me, for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me; and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties."

His library was his chief resource in the last years of his life, when his malady kept him within doors and, for the most part, confined to his bed. "In the intervals of pain, he . . . amused himself with reading and writing," his grandson states; and another witness chronicles that, "When able to be out of bed, he passed nearly all his time in his office, reading and writing, and in conversation with his friends; and, when the boys were playing and very noisy, in the lot in front of the office, he would open the window and call to them: 'Boys, Boys, can't you play without making so much noise. I am reading, and it disturbs me very much.' I have heard the servants in his family say that he never used a hasty or angry word to any one."

> "Some men grow mad by studying much to know,
> But who grows mad by studying good to grow?"

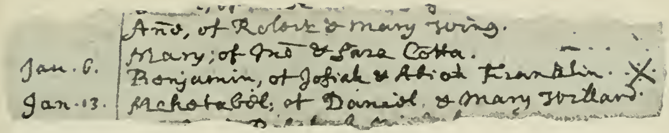
asked Poor Richard, and the same epigram-maker asserted that:

> "He that lives well is learned enough."



FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY CHAIR, SHOWING THE SEAT TURNED UP TO FORM A LADDER.

In the possession of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.



Anō, of Robert & Mary Young.
Mary; of Jnō & Sara Cotta.
Jan. 6. Benjamin, of Joſiah & Abiah Franklin. X
Jan. 13. Mehetabel; of Daniel & Mary Willard.

BAPTISM RECORD OF FRANKLIN.
From records of the Old South Church, Boston.

IV

RELIGION

ON January 6, 1706, the very day Franklin was born, he was baptized in the Old South Church in Boston. If trustworthy tradition be given credence, he was carried thither through the deep snow by his mother, and this act, which now would be held little short of murder, was no less perilous then, as is proved by the fearful death-rate among the mothers and children of New England. But the Calvinistic faith of the Puritans maintained that the physical danger of either matricide or infanticide was as nothing compared with the spiritual risk of the babe dying unbaptized, and so convention decreed that both parent and offspring should be exposed without loss of time, rather than doom the little one to eternal damnation.

The strain of religious austerity that such a proceeding implied was a heritage. "This obscure family of ours," Franklin writes of his English progenitors, "was early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They had got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint-stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to his family, he turned up the joint-stool upon his knees, turning over the leaves then under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before." The family continued Church of England folk with the exception of Franklin's father and uncle, who were led to change their faith during the reign of King Charles II, by the obvious tendency of the court toward Romanism, and the severity of the parliamentary laws against the independent sectaries. "When some of the ministers that had been outed for non-conformity holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, Benjamin and Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives." Just prior to the death of Charles, or immediately after the accession of James, when affairs looked so hopeless for the Puritans, "some considerable men" of Josiah Franklin's acquaintance planned a removal to New England, "and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy their mode of religion with freedom."

Josiah Franklin, shortly after his arrival in America, became a member of the Old South Church, and his chief distinction appears to have been in the affairs of this church. Sewall states that upon occasion he "moved prayer at Meeting," or "pitched" the tune, and the son records in his autobiography that he "was skilled a little in music, and had a clear, pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, as he sometimes did in an evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear." Nor did the two services on Sunday and the "Thursday lecture" satisfy the religious side of his nature, for he held devotional meetings in his own home.

The ambition of every self-respecting New England family at that time was to produce at least one clergyman, and Josiah planned to devote Benjamin, "as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church," an intention stimulated by Franklin's early bookishness. "My Uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it," and "having been a great attender of sermons of the best preachers, which he took down," he "proposed to give me all his shorthand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character." But, as already mentioned, the expense and the probable "mean living" finally led the parent to change his determination. Yet clearly the "mean living" was not the absolute deterrent, for at sixteen years of age, in his description of Harvard College, the boy, recounting the shifts of the graduates for a livelihood, described how the greater

"Crowd went along a large beaten Path which led to a Temple at the further End of the Plain, call'd, The Temple of

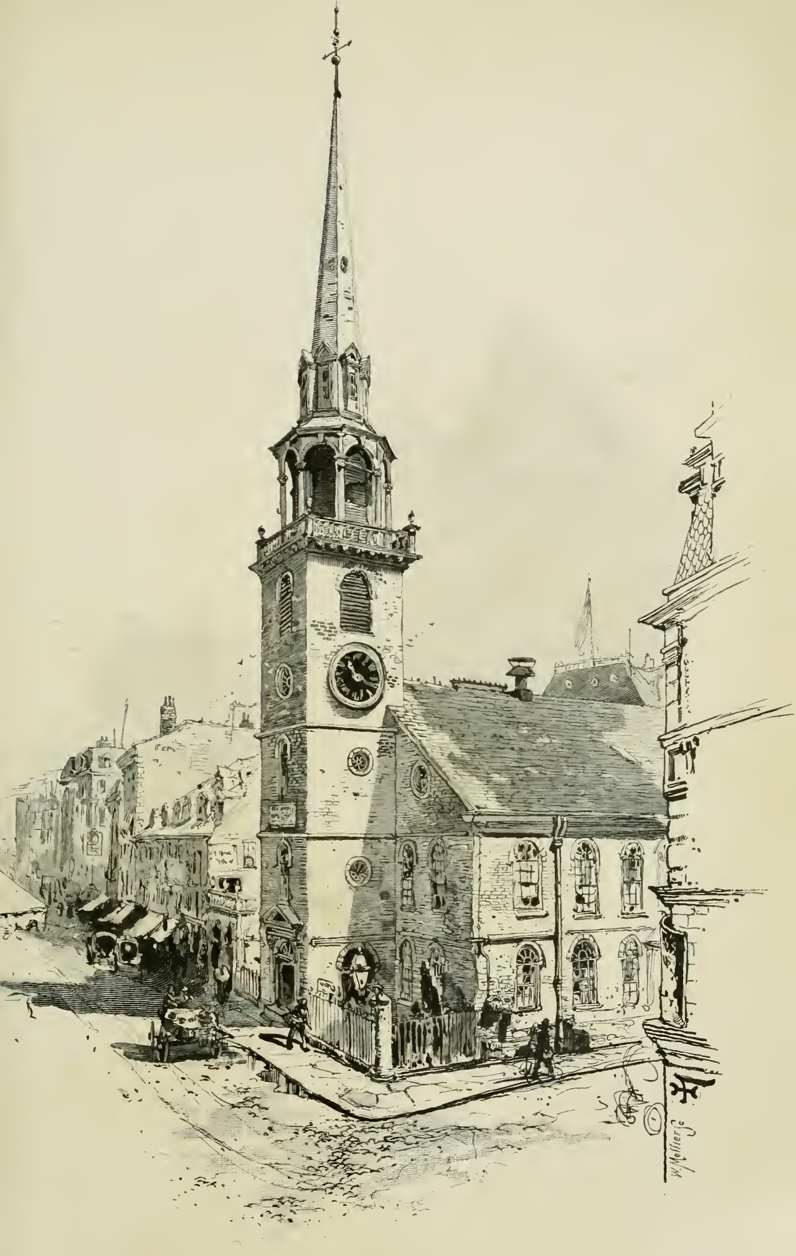
> Theology. The Business of those who were employ'd in this Temple being laborious and painful, I wonder'd exceedingly to see so many go towards it; but while I was pondering this Matter in my Mind, I spy'd *Pecunia* behind a Curtain, beckoning to them with her Hand, which Sight immediately satisfy'd me for whose Sake it was, that a great Part of them (I will not say all) travel'd that Road."

Apparently, too, Franklin later in life did not approve of even the "mean living" of the New England clergy, for he declared, apropos of the test act of Massachusetts:

> "If Christian preachers had continued to teach as Christ and his Apostles did, without salaries, and as the Quakers now do, I imagine tests would never have existed; for I think they were invented not so much to secure religion itself as the emoluments of it. When a religion is good, I conceive that it will support itself; and when it cannot support itself, and God does not take care to support it, so that its professors are obliged to call for the help of the civil power, it is a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one."

He did not, however, believe in his theory strongly enough to apply it within the family circle; for Franklin wrote to the father of the boy he had selected for his son-in-law: "Tell me whether George is to be a Church or Presbyterian parson? I know you are a Presbyterian yourself; but then I think you have more sense than to stick him into a priesthood that admits of no promotion. If he was a dull lad it might not be amiss, but George has parts, and ought to aim at a mitre."

The story of Franklin's objecting to his father's long prayers, and suggesting that he make a wholesale grace



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

over the pork-barrel, shows how early the lad revolted from the faith of his father.

> "My parents had early given me religious impressions," he states, "and brought me through my childhood piously in the Dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen, when, after doubting by turns of several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of Revelation itself. Some books against Deism fell into my hands; they were said to be the substance of sermons preached at Boyle's Lectures. It happened they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them; for the arguments of the Deists which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to be much stronger than the refutation; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist."

No sooner was the boy, by his apprenticeship, made free from his parents' direct control than he devoted his Sundays to reading, "evading as much as I could the common attendance on public worship, which my father used to exact of me when I was under his care." This, and "my indiscrete disputations about religion, began to make me pointed at with horror by the good people as an infidel and atheist." Such a view Franklin always resented, and showed indignation at the lack of public discrimination concerning the words, "because I think they are diametrically opposite, and not near of kin, as Mr. Whitefield seems to suppose, where (in his Journal) he tells us: '*M. B. was a deist; I had almost said an atheist*'—that is, *chalk;* I had almost said *charcoal.*"

Suspicion of atheism and failure to attend church were enough to destroy the reputation of any one in New England in 1720, but Franklin did worse. The

Mathers, who then dominated Massachusetts intellectually, though firm believers in witches, had, with curious contradiction, come out in favor of the palliative for the smallpox which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had brought to England from Turkey. Those opposed to inoculation found in James Franklin's "New England Courant" a ready mouthpiece for all their views, and as the controversy grew it took on a personal quality. The Mathers were attacked, were ridiculed, and even their ungainly writings were burlesqued. The reverend gentlemen, unused to such irreverent treatment, lost their dignity and replied in kind. The "Courant," according to Cotton Mather, was a "notorious, scandalous" newspaper, "full freighted with nonsense, unmannerliness, raillery, profaneness, immorality, arrogance, calumnies, lies, contradictions, and what not, all tending to quarrels and divisions, and to debauch and corrupt the minds and manners of New England." This was echoed in no minor key by Increase Mather, who declared the paper a "wicked libel," because the printer, in one of his "Vile Courants,"

> "Insinuates, that if *the Ministers of God approve of a thing, it is a Sign it is of the Devil;* which is a horrid thing to be related! And he doth frequently abuse the Ministers of Religion and many other worthy Persons in a manner which is intolerable. For these and such like Reasons, I signified to the Printer, that I would have no more of their *Wicked Courants*. I who have known what New England was from the Beginning, cannot but be troubled to see the Degeneracy of this Place. I can well remember when the Civil Government would have taken a severe Course to repress such a *Cursed Libel!* which, if not taken, I am afraid some *Awful Judgment*

WILLIAM WOLLASTON.

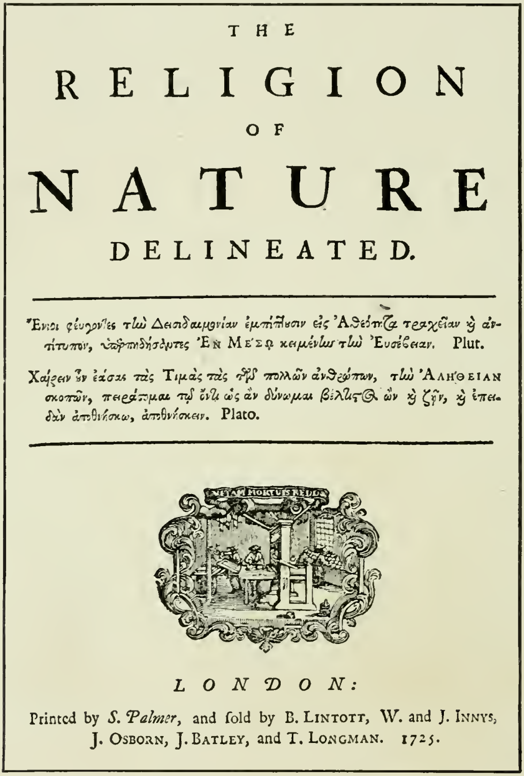
From an engraving by Vertue, after a portrait attributed to William Hogarth.

will come upon this Land, and the *Wrath of God will arise, and there will be no Remedy*. I cannot but pity *poor Franklin* who tho' but a Young Man it may be Speedily he must appear before the Judgment Seat of God, and what answer will he give for printing things so evil and abominable?"

Thus whipped by the clergy, the civil government took action against the "Courant," and eventually issued an order that James Franklin should cease to print it. True to the letter of the order, and disobedient to the spirit, the printer continued to issue the paper, but with the name of his brother Benjamin as the publisher, in place of his own. The paper, too, continued the attacks on the clergy and "religious knaves," though in a mock letter of reproof to itself it was warned not to "cast injurious Reflections on the *Reverend and Faithful Ministers of the Gospel*." If frowned upon by church and state, the paper prospered, soon came to exceed in circulation and advertising patronage its rivals, and dared even to raise its price.

Fortunately for Franklin, his quarrels with his brother presently terminated his connection with the "Courant" and drove him from Boston, where the bad reputation he had acquired would probably henceforth have prevented his advancement. In tolerant Philadelphia he was free to think and act as he pleased, and one incident during the first day he passed in the city seemed to typify the difference between voluntary and enforced religion; for, having avoided church-going in Boston, on his arrival in the City of Brotherly Love he relates that:

"I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy thro' labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continu'd so till the


VITAM MORTUIS REDDO

THE
RELIGION
OF
NATURE
DELINEATED.

Ἔνιοι φεύγοντες τὴν Δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἀθεότητα τραχεῖαν ϗ ἀντίτυπον, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἘΝ ΜΈΣῼ κειμένην τὴν Εὐσέβειαν. Plut.

Χαίρειν οὖν ἐάσας τὰς Τιμὰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ σκοπῶν, πειράσομαι τῷ ὄντι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι βέλτιστος ὢν ϗ ζῆν, ϗ ἐπειδὰν ἀποθνήσκω, ἀποθνήσκειν. Plato.

LONDON:
Printed by *S. Palmer*, and ſold by B. LINTOTT, W. and J. INNYS, J. OSBORN, J. BATLEY, and T. LONGMAN. 1725.

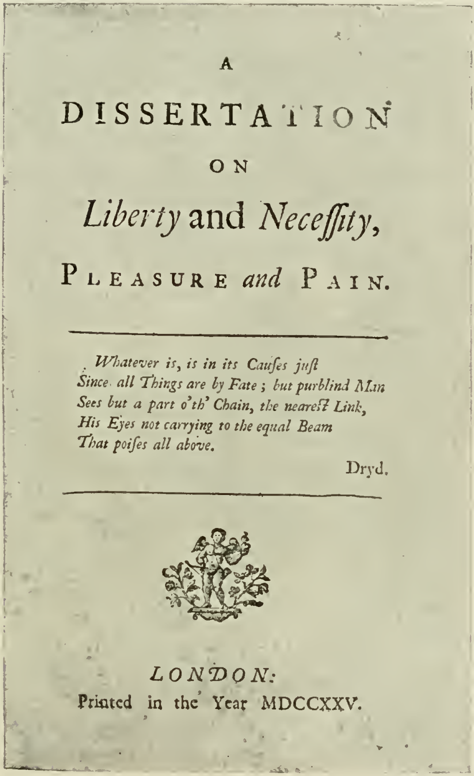
TITLE-PAGE OF WOLLASTON'S "RELIGION OF NATURE."
From the copy in the possession of Paul Leicester Ford.

meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia."

During his first brief visit to London, Franklin made friends of a number of deists such as Lyon and Mandeville, both of whom had written books then thought highly irreligious. Franklin himself followed their example. While working as a journeyman printer he "was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's 'Religion of Nature.'" The book was an absolutely inoffensive one, and the six editions and ten thousand copies sold of it probably did as little harm as any book ever printed; but to the young doubter, fresh from his controversies with the Boston ministers, it was an irritation to leave unanswered the *a priori* propositions, and circular reasonings based thereon, concerning good and evil, truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain. So in spare hours he wrote and put into type a little tractate, animadverting on some of the clerical author's arguments, and practically denying a future life or rewards, the existence of natural religion, and of the theological distinction between man and beast. This dissertation on "Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain" has since been known as his "wicked tract," and Franklin lived to term it "an erratum," and to destroy almost all of the hundred copies he had printed.

Upon his return to Philadelphia, Franklin "regularly paid my subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting" in that city; yet, while "I had still an opinion of its propriety, and its utility, I seldom attended any public worship." For this conduct his clergyman reproved him, and urged Franklin to attend " his administrations, and I was now and then prevail'd on to do so, once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly either polemical arguments or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforc'd. Their aim seemed to be rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens." Finally, a special sermon so " disgusted " Franklin that he " attended his preaching no more. . . . I had some years before compos'd a little Liturgy or form of prayer for my own private use (viz., in 1728), entitled ' Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.' I return'd to the use of this and went no more to the public assemblies."

So long as this clergyman was the sole minister of the sect in Philadelphia, Franklin continued to absent himself from church; but, " about the year 1734, there arrived among us from Ireland a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, apparently extempore, most excellent discourses, which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who join'd in admiring him. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called ' good works.' " The Rev. Jedediah Andrews, the old clergyman, did not agree with Franklin; having first taken Mr. Hemphill for his assistant, as his popularity grew he came to be-



A

DISSERTATION

ON

Liberty and *Neceſſity*,

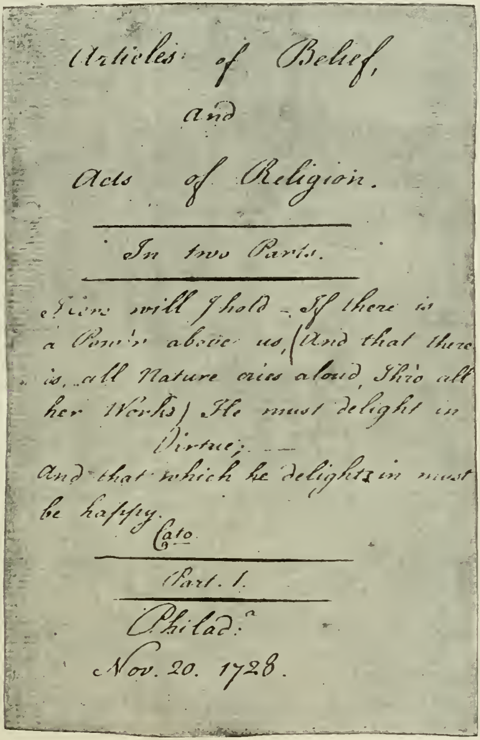
PLEASURE *and* PAIN.

Whatever is, is in its Cauſes juſt
Since all Things are by Fate; but purblind Man
Sees but a part o'th' Chain, the neareſt Link,
His Eyes not carrying to the equal Beam
That poiſes all above.
Dryd.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCXXV.

TITLE-PAGE OF FRANKLIN'S "WICKED TRACT."
In the Congressional Library.

lieve it nothing but a "dreadful plot laid by Satan to root Christianity out of the world," and charged that the eloquent preacher drew about him only "Free thinkers, Deists and nothings." Through his influence the newcomer was arraigned for heterodoxy before a synod, and "never was there such a trial known in the American World." Mr. Hemphill had preached that "the Gospel was a revival of the laws of nature"; that "the Lord's Supper promoted a good life, but was not a communion with Christ"; had prayed for mankind, and not for the church; and, perhaps worst of all, in the eyes of his accuser, had preached sermons in which he had made no mention of original sin. Franklin, who had become a "zealous partisan . . . contributed all I could to raise a party in his favour, and we combated for him awhile with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling pro and con upon the occasion; and finding that, tho' an eloquent preacher, he was but a poor writer, I lent him my pen, and wrote for him two or three pamphlets, and one piece in the Gazette." These defended Hemphill, "because in all his discourses he enforced Christian charity and the necessity of a good life"; but how little in accord Franklin was with his own church is shown by his assertions that "good works put men in God's way and reconcile God to them," and that "original sin was as ridiculous as imputed righteousness." A reply was quickly forthcoming, which dwelt on the pamphleteer's "false and abusive Criminations, his outrageous Billingsgate Language, and horrid Profaneness." As was foreordained, the eloquent clergyman was brought in guilty and silenced, but he continued to preach as an independent until he was caught using another man's sermons. "This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause. . . . I stuck by him, however, as I rather approv'd his giving us good sermons compos'd by others than bad ones of



Articles of Belief,
and
Acts of Religion.

In two Parts.

Here will I hold — If there is
a Pow'r above us, (And that there
is, all Nature cries aloud, Thro' all
her Works) He must delight in
Virtue; —
And that which he delights in must
be happy.
Cato.

Part. I.

Philad^a
Nov. 20. 1728.

TITLE-PAGE OF FRANKLIN'S PRIVATE DEVOTIONAL BOOK.
In the Department of State, Washington.

his own manufacture, tho' the latter was the practice of our common preachers. He afterwards acknowledged to me that none of those he preached were his own, and I quitted the congregation, never joining it after, tho' I continued many years my subscriptions for the support of its minister." His disgust may have been the direct cause of Poor Richard's remark that "Many have quarrel'd about Religion, that never practised it." Franklin's opinion of church disputes is given in no uncertain key:

> "Each party abuses the other; the profane and the infidel believe both sides, and enjoy the fray; the reputation of religion in general suffers, and its enemies are ready to say, not what was said in the primitive times, Behold how these Christians love one another,—but, Mark how these Christians hate one another! Indeed, when religious people quarrel about religion, or hungry people about their victuals, it looks as if they had not much of either among them."

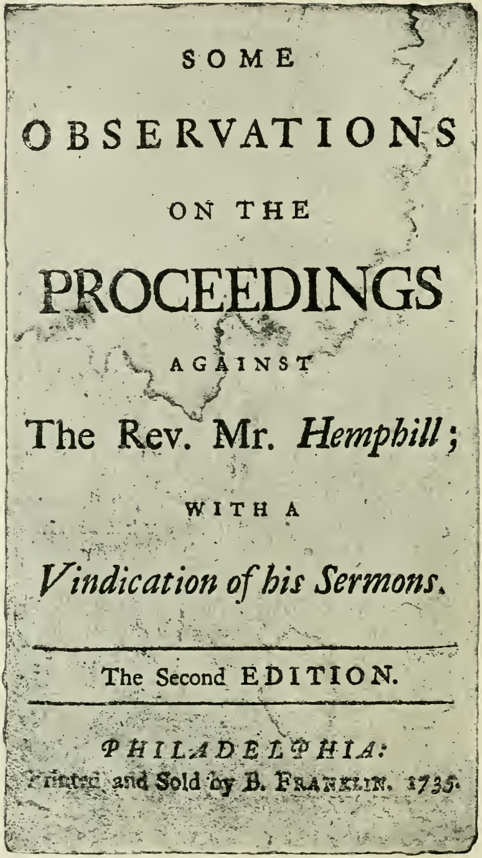
Thoroughly out of humor with the faith of his father, Franklin now took a pew in the Episcopalian Christ Church, and there his family henceforth worshiped, there a son and daughter were baptized, and there he and his wife, with two of their children, were eventually buried. Though Franklin rarely attended the service, he concerned himself in the material interests of the church. In 1737 he subscribed to a fund for finishing the new building, in 1751 to one to build a steeple and purchase a chime of bells, and twice he was appointed by the vestry one of the managers of lotteries for raising a fund for this purpose. Probably the most amusing relic of his relations with this church was an advertisement in his own paper, anent his wife's Prayer-book:

> "Taken out of a Pew in the Church some Months since, a Common-Prayer Book, bound in Red, gilt, and letter'd D F

on each Corner. The Person who took it, is desir'd to open it and read the Eighth Commandment, and afterwards return it into the same Pew again; upon which no further Notice will be taken."

However Franklin, the private citizen of tolerant Pennsylvania, might be left free to think and act as he chose, when he became an office-holder of the colony his freedom was curtailed, for he was called upon to sign an oath, or test, before he was allowed to serve the public. By this he was required to "Solemnly promise and declare that . . . our hearts abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, or any other authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects"; to "solemnly and sincerely profess and testify that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ"; that "the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, or the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous"; and that "each of us for himself do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore. And we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be by divine inspiration."

Although the office-holder subscribed over and over again to this oath, it was clearly from necessity, and not from choice, and time did not lessen his dislike of



SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PROCEEDINGS

AGAINST

The Rev. Mr. *Hemphill*;

WITH A

Vindication of his Sermons.

The Second EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. Franklin. 1735.

TITLE-PAGE OF ONE OF FRANKLIN'S PAMPHLETS ON THE HEMPHILL CONTROVERSY.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

it. This was shown in 1776, when the colonial charter was abrogated and a convention set about the framing of a new government. Of this body Franklin was president, and he threw all his influence in favor of doing away with every test, and in theory succeeded, for the Declaration of Rights adopted declared:

> "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: And that no man ought or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any Ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent: Nor can any man, who acknowledges the being of a God, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship: And that no authority can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by, any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner controul, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship."

When it came to reducing this theory to practice, however, Franklin could not bring the convention to make its liberality concrete, and it decreed that, however free its citizens might be in their belief, before they could serve as lawmakers they must swear: "I DO believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration." Concerning this, Franklin wrote to the Rev. Dr. Price:

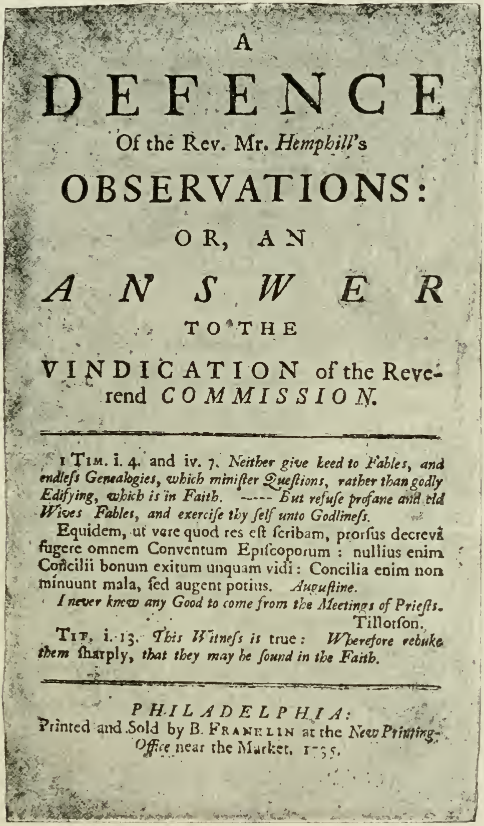
> "I agreed with you in sentiments concerning the Old Testament, and thought the clause in our Constitution, which required the members of Assembly to declare their belief *that the whole of it was given by divine inspiration*, had better have been omitted; that I had opposed the clause, but being overpowered by numbers, and fearing more might in future times be grafted on it, I prevailed to have the additional clause

'that *no further or more extended profession of faith should ever be exacted.*' I observed to you, too, that the evil of it was the less, as *no inhabitant*, nor any officer of government, except the members of Assembly, was obliged to make that declaration.

"So much for that letter; to which I may now add that there are several things in the Old Testament impossible to be given by *divine* inspiration, such as the approbation ascribed to the angel of the Lord of that abominably wicked and detestable action of Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite. If the rest of the book were like that, I should rather suppose it given by inspiration from another quarter, and renounce the whole."

In leaving the Presbyterian and allying himself with the Episcopalian Church, it is not to be inferred that Franklin became in any sense of the word a sectarian, and this fact was so well recognized by his fellow-townsmen that, in a dispute over a vacancy in a board of trustees constituted of one from each sect, the mutual jealousy of the differing religions was finally ended by the nomination of Franklin, "with the observation that I was merely an honest man, and of no sect at all, which prevailed with them to chuse me." His actual attitude toward churches he described as follows:

"I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; and tho' some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as the *eternal decrees of God*, *election*, *reprobation*, *etc.*, appeared to me unintelligible, others doubtful, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day, I never was without some religious principles. I never doubted, for instance, the existence of the Deity; that he made the world, and govern'd it by his Providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crime will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter. These I esteem'd the essentials of every religion; and, being to be



A

DEFENCE

Of the Rev. Mr. *Hemphill's*

OBSERVATIONS:

OR, AN

ANSWER

TO THE

VINDICATION of the Reverend *COMMISSION*.

1 Tim. i. 4. and iv. 7. *Neither give heed to Fables, and endleſs Genealogies, which miniſter Queſtions, rather than godly Edifying, which is in Faith. ---- But refuſe profane and old Wives Fables, and exerciſe thy ſelf unto Godlineſs.*

Equidem, ut vere quod res eſt ſcribam, prorſus decrevi fugere omnem Conventum Epiſcoporum: nullius enim Concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi: Concilia enim non minuunt mala, ſed augent potius. *Auguſtine.*

I never knew any Good to come from the Meetings of Prieſts.
Tillotſon.

Tit. i. 13. *This Witneſs is* true: *Wherefore rebuke them* ſharply, *that they may be ſound in the Faith.*

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. Franklin at the *New Printing-Office* near the Market. 1735.

TITLE-PAGE OF ONE OF FRANKLIN'S PAMPHLETS
ON THE HEMPHILL CONTROVERSY.
In the Boston Public Library.

found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, tho' with different degrees of respect, as I found

> them more or less mix'd with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, serv'd principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some good effects, induc'd me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increas'd in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused."

So, too, writing of a particular sect, Franklin said: "I do not desire it to be diminished, nor would I endeavour to lessen it in any man. But I wish it were more productive of good works than I have generally seen it. I mean real good works, works of kindness, charity, mercy, and publick spirit; not holiday-keeping, sermon reading or hearing, performing church ceremonies, or making long prayers, filled with flatteries and compliments,—despis'd even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty, the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful; but if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself in being water'd and putting forth leaves, tho' it never produc'd any fruit."

As already indicated, Franklin was no sabbatarian, and during his early life set apart that day for study and writing. Later, when in France, he adopted the custom of the country and observed it as a fête-day, on which he entertained friends, went to the play or opera, amused himself with chess or cards, and made merry in other ways, to the no small scandalizing of the more

A South East View of Christ's Church Philad.a
1787.

From a print in the "Columbian Magazine."

puritanical Americans who saw or heard of the conduct of their commissioner and minister. He himself had no sympathy with the New England Sunday, and long before he went to France he had written to a Connecticut friend:

"When I travelled in Flanders, I thought of your excessively strict observation of Sunday; and that a man could hardly travel on that day among you upon his lawful occasions without hazard of punishment; while, where I was, every one travelled, if he pleased, or diverted himself in any other way; and in the afternoon both high and low went to the play or the opera, where there was plenty of singing, fiddling, and dancing. I looked around for God's judgments, but saw no signs of them. The cities were well built and full of inhabitants, the markets filled with plenty, the people well favored and well clothed, the fields well tilled, the cattle fat and strong, the fences, houses, and windows all in repair, and no Old Tenor [*i. e.*, paper money] anywhere in the country; which would almost make one suspect that the Deity is not so angry at that offence as a New England Justice."

As can readily be conceived, Franklin's non-attendance at church and his general disrespect for doctrinal religion were a sore trial to his Puritan family, and several of them argued and remonstrated with him on the error of his ways. To his father and mother he replied:

"You both seem concerned lest I have imbibed some erroneous opinions. Doubtless I have my share; and when the natural weakness and imperfection of human understanding is considered, the unavoidable influence of education, custom, books, and company upon our ways of thinking, I imagine a man must have a good deal of vanity who believes, and a good deal of boldness who affirms, that all the doctrines he holds are true, and all he rejects are false. And perhaps the same may be justly said of every sect, church, and society of men, when they assume to themselves that infallibility which they deny to the Pope and councils.

"I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects; and if a man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous; which I hope is the case with me.

"I am sorry you should have any uneasiness on my account; and if it were a thing possible for one to alter his opinions in order to please another, I know none whom I ought more willingly to oblige in that respect than yourselves. But since it is no more in a man's power to *think* than to *look* like another, methinks all that should be expected from me is to keep my mind open to conviction, to hear patiently and examine attentively whatever is offered me for that end; and, if after all I continue in the same errors, I believe your usual charity will induce you to rather pity and excuse, than blame me. In the mean time your care and concern for me is what I am very thankful for.

"My mother grieves that one of her sons is an Arian, another an Arminian. What an Arminian or an Arian is, I cannot say that I very well know. The truth is I make such distinctions very little my study. I think vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy is more regarded than virtue; and the Scriptures assure me that at the last day we shall not be examined what we *thought*, but what we *did;* and our recommendation will not be that we said, *Lord! Lord!* but that we did good to our fellow creatures. See Matt. xxv."

In much the same vein he answered a chiding letter from his favorite sister. "There are some things in your New England doctrine and worship," he told her, "which I do not agree with; but I do not therefore condemn them, or desire to shake your belief or practice of them. We may dislike things that are nevertheless right in themselves. I would only have you make me the same allowance, and have a better opinion both of morality and your brother. . . . When you judge of others, if you can perceive the fruit to be good, don't terrify yourself that the tree may be evil; but be assured it is not so, for you know who has said, 'Men do not gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles.'"

All through life Franklin preached this religion of works, and not of doctrine. In one of his letters he imagines a man at the gates of heaven, and applying for entrance on the ground that he was a Presbyterian. "What is that?" demands St. Peter, and when he is told, says, "We don't have any here." So in succession the applicant mentions different religions, but each time is rebuffed with the information that there are none of that persuasion in heaven. Finally, the

REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

man sees his wife through the gate, and claims that if she is there, so he should be, for they were of the same religion on earth. "Oh," said St. Peter, "why did n't you say that you were a Christian, to begin with?" Another tale which Franklin wrote for a French abbé, though an apparent contradiction, in truth had the same moral:

> "An officer named Montresor, a worthy man, was very ill. The curate of his parish, thinking him likely to die, advised him to make his peace with God, that he might be received into Paradise. 'I have not much uneasiness on the subject,' said Montresor, 'for I had a vision last night which has perfectly tranquillized my mind.' 'What vision have you had?' said the good priest. 'I was,' replied Montresor, 'at the gate of Paradise, with a crowd of people who wished to enter, and St. Peter inquired of every one what religion he was of. One answered, "I am a Roman Catholic." "Well," said St. Peter, "enter, and take your place there among the Catholics." Another said he was of the Church of England. "Well," said the Saint, "enter, and place yourself there among the Anglicans." A third said he was a Quaker. "Enter," said St. Peter, "and take your place among the Quakers." At length my turn being come, he asked me of what religion I was. "Alas!" said I, "poor Jacques Montresor has none." "'T is a pity," said the Saint; "I know not where to place you; *but enter nevertheless, and place yourself where you can.*"'"

As this would indicate, Franklin had that rarest kind of tolerance which tolerates the opinions of others, and though he laughingly asserted that "Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is your doxy," his whole life was one contradiction of the epigram, for the faith or lack of faith of his circle of friends ranged from that of the most doctrinal of ministers to the most radical of free-thinkers. For such rigid Puritans as the Rev. Drs. Cooper and Mather of Boston, for the enthusiast Whitefield, for the Anglican Bishop of St. Asaph, and for the Abbés de La Roche and Morellet he showed as much affection and respect as he did for Hume, Lord Le Despenser, Thomas Paine, and others closer in accord with his own views. Nor was it ever a one-sided regard. No man in Pennsylvania exercised such influence over the Quakers. Massachusetts made him her agent in Great Britain, and he served her faithfully, even to the defending of her religious intolerance against English criticism. In France the papal nuncio consulted him frequently and followed his advice in the changes the Revolutionary War made possible or necessary in the Catholic Church in America. Absolutely unsectarian as he was, Franklin apparently was trusted by all sects, and he seems never to have refused a service that he could render any one of them. Some few special incidents are worth noting as throwing light on the attitude of the man.

In 1739 the Rev. George Whitefield, the itinerant, came to America, and "was at first permitted to preach in some of the churches; but the clergy taking a dislike to him soon refus'd him their pulpits, and he was oblig'd to preach in the fields. . . . It being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner propos'd and persons appointed to receive contributions but sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of

Westminster Hall." Of this building Franklin was made a trustee, and undoubtedly he was largely responsible for the liberality which dedicated it to

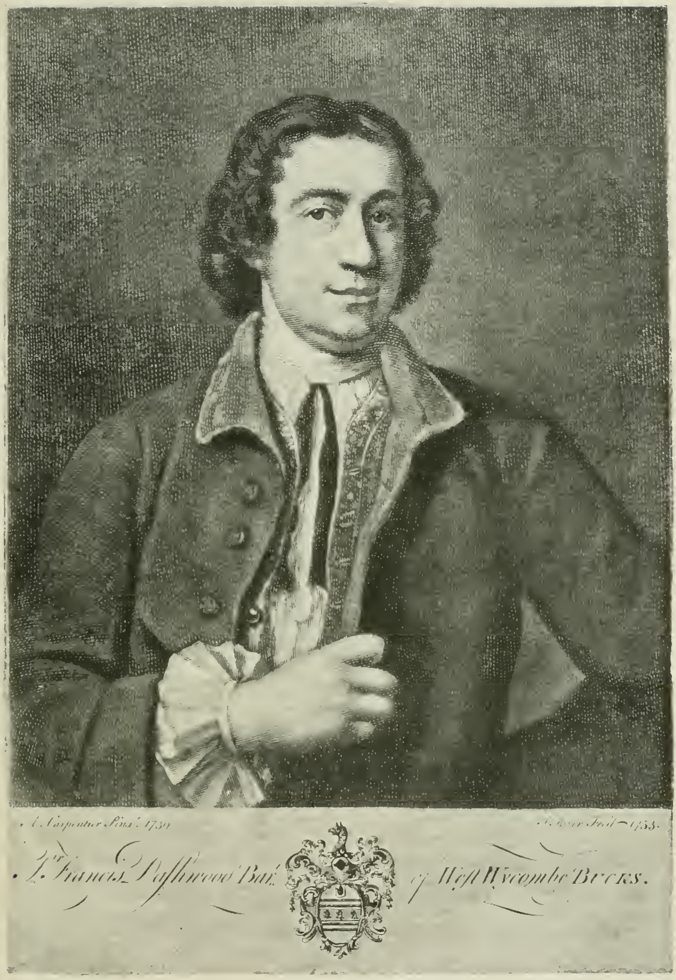
> "The use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people of Philadelphia; the design . . . not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service."

Franklin relates that Whitefield "us'd, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but he never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasting to his death." He adds an incident which "will show something of the terms on which we stood." Having asked Whitefield to make his home with him while in Philadelphia, "he reply'd that if I made that kind offer for Christ's sake I should not miss of a reward. And I returned: '*Don't let me be mistaken; it was not for Christ's sake, but for your own sake.*' One of our common acquaintance jocosely remark'd, that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favour, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contriv'd to fix it on earth."

A would-be service on behalf of episcopacy had, if anything, even less religious feeling in it. In 1770 Lord Le Despenser, one of King George's privy councilors, was made joint Postmaster-General of Great Britain. Despite these public offices, he was best known to his own generation as "the Abbot" of the famous "Monks of Medmenham," a club the purposes and meetings of which, modeled upon those of the ancients, were at once the most libertine and the most impious known to modern times, no immorality or blasphemy being too gross for their orgies. The baron, apparently thinking his own reformation either impossible or too great a task, undertook the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer. As Postmaster-General for America, Franklin was thrown into close relations with his chief, and, becoming a friend as well, visited Lord Le Despenser at his country house. His host begged his aid in the revision of the Prayer-book, asking Franklin to take as his share

> "The Catechism and the reading and singing Psalms. These I abridged by retaining of the Catechism only the two questions: *What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbor?* with answers. The Psalms were much contracted by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined) and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in St. Paul's Churchyard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper."

The Anglican Church did not take kindly to an improvement from such a source; but in America, where the book was known as "Franklin's Prayer-book," it attracted attention, and when, after the separation, the Episcopal Church in this country set to work to frame a ritual, the clergymen who prepared the Proposed Prayer-book studied this abridgment with care, and adopted certain ideas from it.

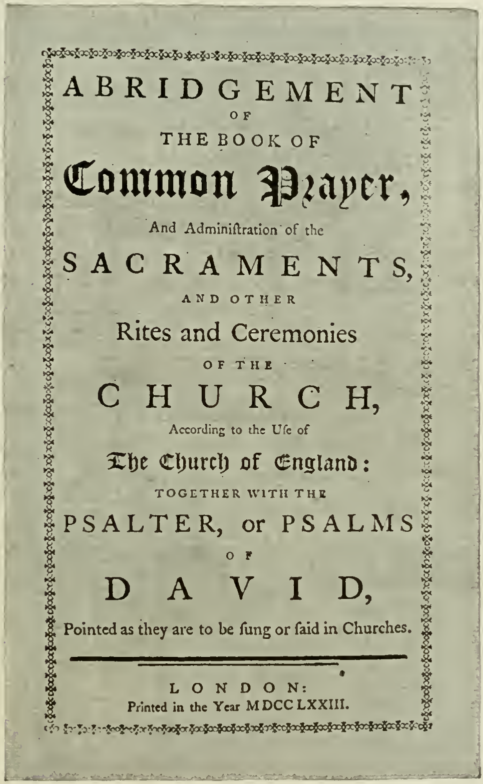

A. Carpentier Pinx. 1750
J. Faber Fecit 1753.
Sr. Francis Dashwood Bar.t of West Wycombe Bucks.

LORD LE DESPENSER.
From a print in the possession of Paul Leicester Ford.

A traveling companion in Franklin's journey to Canada in 1776 was the Rev. John Carroll of Maryland, the Continental Congress having requested him to go with their commissioners, in the hope that, as a Roman Catholic priest, he would exercise particular influence with the French Canadians. No such result was attained, but he and Franklin formed a warm friendship, which was made the more lasting by Carroll's attention when the exposure and fatigue of the trip broke down Franklin's health. The service in time was rewarded, for when Franklin was applied to by the papal nuncio at Paris to name the man best fitted to be the first Roman Catholic bishop of America, he named Carroll, who received the appointment.

With this same nuncio was partly transacted an affair which well illustrates not merely how little value Franklin placed upon forms and creeds, but how little he appreciated the value set upon them by others. Two young American clergymen wrote to him in 1784 that the Archbishop of Canterbury had refused to ordain them ministers of the Episcopal Church unless they would first take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and besought his assistance. In his endeavor to help them Franklin asked the nuncio if he would not ordain them, but was told "the thing is impossible unless the gentlemen become Catholics." Franklin therefore advised them, first, that they become Presbyterians, and next, if that did not suit them, that they ordain themselves; and, as usual, he ends his advice with an argument and a story to illustrate the absurdity of Americans looking to Great Britain for ordination:

"If the British Islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this globe has suffered greater changes), you would



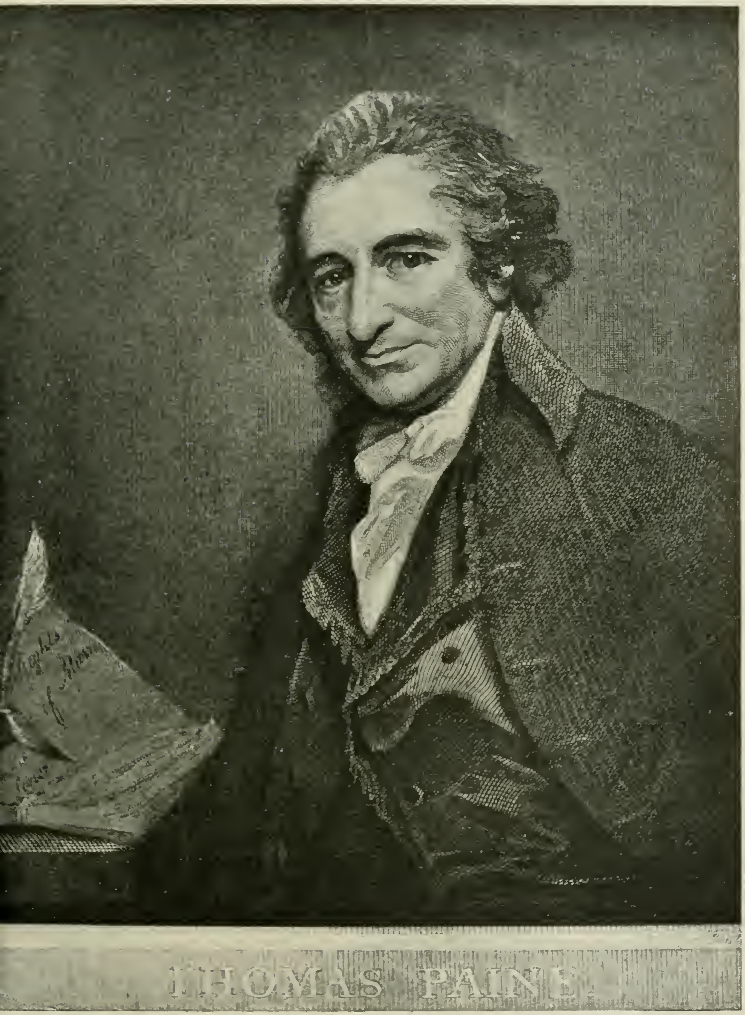
ABRIDGEMENT
OF
THE BOOK OF
Common Prayer,
And Adminiſtration of the
SACRAMENTS,
AND OTHER
Rites and Ceremonies
OF THE
CHURCH,
According to the Uſe of
The Church of England:
TOGETHER WITH THE
PSALTER, or PSALMS
OF
DAVID,
Pointed as they are to be ſung or ſaid in Churches.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCLXXIII.

TITLE-PAGE OF LE DESPENSER'S AND FRANKLIN'S
ABRIDGMENT OF THE PRAYER-BOOK.
From the copy in the Congressional Library.

probably take some such method as this; and, if they persist in denying you ordination, it is the same thing. A hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury, who seems, by your account, to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland as King William's Attorney-General, Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The Reverend Commissary Blair, who projected the college of that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates that the queen, in the king's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter, which was to be given, with two thousand pounds in money, he opposed the grant, saying that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair represented to him that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the Gospel, much wanted there, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved, as well as the people of England. '*Souls!*' said he, '*damn your souls! Make tobacco!*'"

A friendship begun in London was that with Thomas Paine, and when the yet unknown man emigrated to America, he carried letters of recommendation from Franklin to various Philadelphians. Their relations, upon Franklin's return to America in 1775, were intimate enough to have the public believe for a time that "Common Sense" was really from Franklin's pen, and only pretendedly written by Paine; and though the crude style of the pamphlet should have prevented the rumor from gaining currency, Franklin was in a manner concerned, for he had read over the manuscript and had suggested changes in it. Ten years later Paine also submitted to him the first draft of the "Age of Reason," and the advice Franklin gave him is worthy of full quotation:



Engraved by W. Sharp, after a portrait by Romney. From a print in the possession of E. G. Kennedy.

"I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence, though you allow a general Providence, you strike at the foundations of all religion. For, without the belief of a Providence that takes cognisance of, guards, and guides, and may favor particular persons, there is no motive to worship a Deity, to fear his displeasure, or to pray for his protection. I will not enter into any discussion of your principles, though you seem to desire it. At present I shall only give you my opinion that, though your reasons are subtile, and may prevail with some readers, you will not succeed so as to change the general sentiments of mankind on that subject, and the consequence of printing this piece will be, a great deal of odium drawn upon yourself, mischief to you, and no benefit to others. He that spits against the wind spits in his own face.

"But were you to succeed, do you imagine any good would be done by it? You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life, without the assistance afforded by religion; you having a clear perception of the advantage of virtue, and the disadvantages of vice, and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist common temptations. But think how great a portion of mankind consists of weak and ignorant men and women, and of inexperienced, inconsiderate youth of both sexes, who have need of the motives of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue, and retain them in the practice of it till it becomes *habitual*, which is the great point for its security. And perhaps you are indebted to her originally, that is, to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. You might easily display your excellent talents of reasoning upon a less hazardous subject, and thereby obtain a rank with our most distinguished authors. For among us it is not necessary, as among the Hottentots, that a youth, to be raised into the company of men, should prove his manhood by beating his mother.

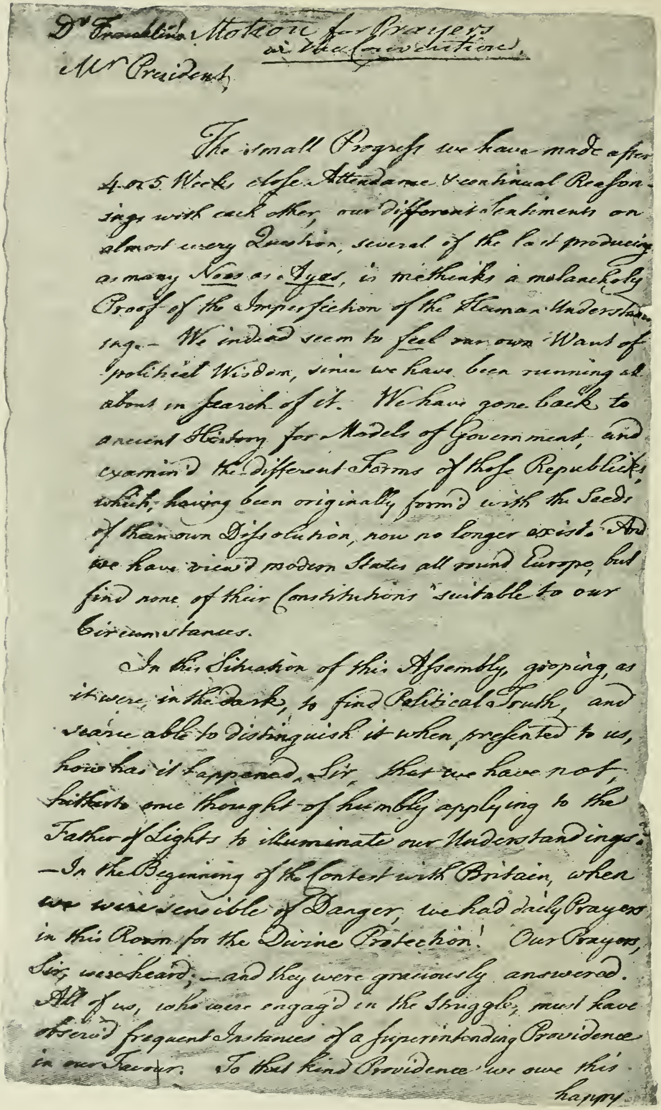
"I would advise you, therefore, not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person, whereby you will save yourself a great deal of mortification by the enemies it may raise against you, and perhaps a great deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked *with religion*, what would they be *if without it?*"

Certainly Paine later had good reason to appreciate the shrewdness and good sense of this advice, for, as Poor Richard had long before declared, "Talking against religion is unchaining the Tyger; the Beast let loose may worry his Deliverer."

Franklin, however, drew a great distinction between a man who attacked the religion of others and a man who merely declared his own honest convictions. "Remember me affectionately to good Dr. Price and the honest heretic Dr. Priestley," he once requested of a correspondent, adding:

> "I do not call him *honest* by way of distinction, for I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their enemies; and they have not, like orthodox sinners, such a number of friends to excuse or justify them. Do not, however, mistake me. It is not to my good friend's heresy that I impute his honesty. On the contrary, it is his honesty that has brought upon him the character of heretic."

Franklin's belief in the value of religion was illustrated in the Federal Convention of 1787. At a certain stage of the discussion, the differences of opinion which had developed were apparently irreconcilable and threatened to put an end to the gathering. He thereupon made his famous motion for prayers, and when it was voted down, he indorsed on the manuscript, in either surprise or indignation: "The Convention, except three or four Persons, thought Prayers unnecessary!!"



Dr Franklin's Motion for Prayers in the Convention

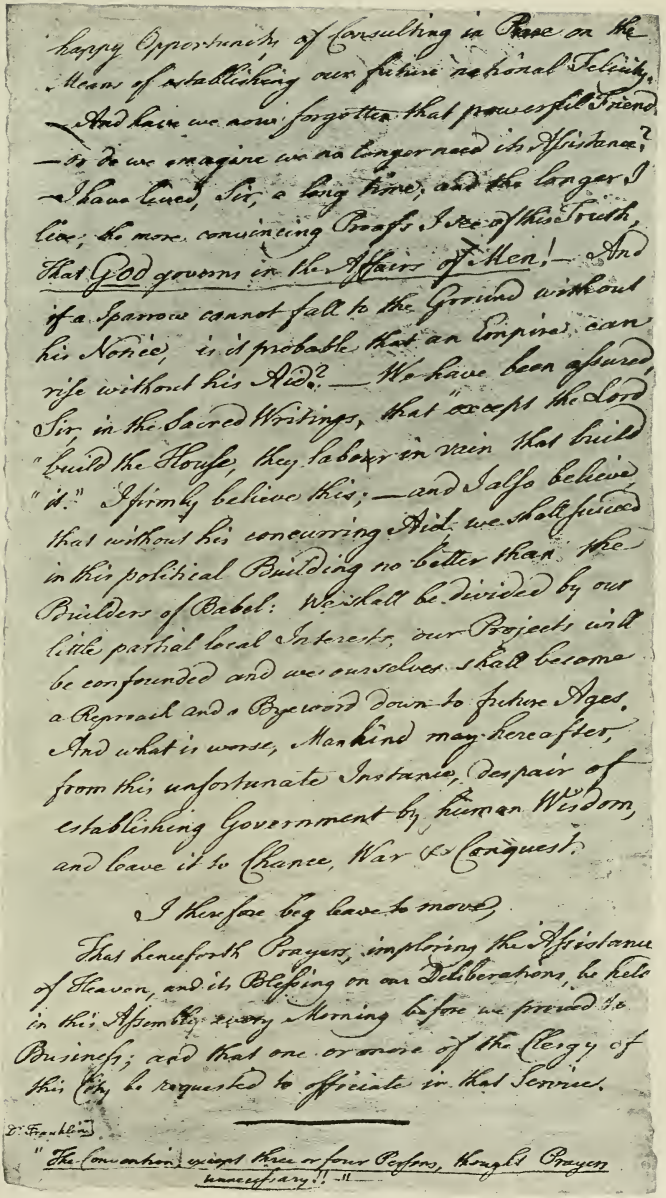
Mr President,

The small Progreſs we have made after 4 or 5 Weeks cloſe Attendance & continual Reaſonings with each other, our different Sentiments on almost every Question, several of the last producing as many Noes as Ayes, is methinks a melancholy Proof of the Imperfection of the Human Understanding.— We indeed seem to feel our own Want of political Wisdom, since we have been running all about in ſearch of it. We have gone back to ancient History for Models of Government, and examin'd the different Forms of thoſe Republicks, which having been originally form'd with the Seeds of their own Diſsolution, now no longer exist. And we have view'd modern States all round Europe, but find none of their Constitutions suitable to our Circumstances.

In this Situation of this Aſsembly, groping as it were in the dark, to find Political Truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when preſented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not, hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our Understandings? —In the Beginning of the Contest with Britain, when we were sensible of Danger, we had daily Prayers in this Room for the Divine Protection. Our Prayers, Sir, were heard;—and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engag'd in the Struggle, must have observ'd frequent Instances of a ſuperintending Providence in our Favour. To that kind Providence we owe this happy

THE PAGES OF FRANKLIN'S MOTION FOR PRAYERS IN THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

In the Department of State, Washington.



happy Opportunity of Consulting in Peace on the
Means of establishing our future national Felicity.
— And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend?
— or do we imagine we no longer need its Aſsistance?
— I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I
live; the more convincing Proofs I see of this Truth,
That God governs in the Affairs of Men! — And
if a Sparrow cannot fall to the Ground without
his Notice, is it probable that an Empire can
riſe without his Aid? — We have been aſsured,
Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord
"build the Houſe, they labour in vain that build
"it." I firmly believe this; — and I alſo believe
that without his concurring Aid we shall succeed
in this political Building no better than the
Builders of Babel: We shall be divided by our
little partial local Interests, our Projects will
be confounded and we ourselves shall become
a Reproach and a Byeword down to future Ages.
And what is worse, Mankind may hereafter,
from this unfortunate Instance, despair of
establishing Government by human Wisdom,
and leave it to Chance, War & Conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move,

That henceforth Prayers, imploring the Aſsistance
of Heaven, and its Bleſsing on our Deliberations, be held
in this Aſsembly every Morning before we proceed to
Busineſs; and that one or more of the Clergy of
this City be requested to officiate in that Service.

Dr. Franklin
"The Convention, except three or four Perſons, thought Prayers
unneceſsary!!"

As already mentioned, Franklin as early as 1728 had composed his own prayer-book, and in his "scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day" he began his day: "Rise, wash, and address *Powerful Goodness!*" Poor Richard, too, told his readers they ought to "Work as if you were to live 100 years, pray as if you were to die to-morrow." Less seriously, Franklin wrote, apropos of a New England clergyman's prayer against a French garrison: "Father Moody's prayers look tolerably modest. You have a fast and prayer day for that purpose; in which I compute five hundred thousand petitions were offered up to the same effect in New England, which, added to the petitions of every family morning and evening, multiplied by the number of days since January 25th, make forty-five millions of prayers; which, set against the prayers of a few priests in the garrison, to the Virgin Mary, give a vast balance in your favor."

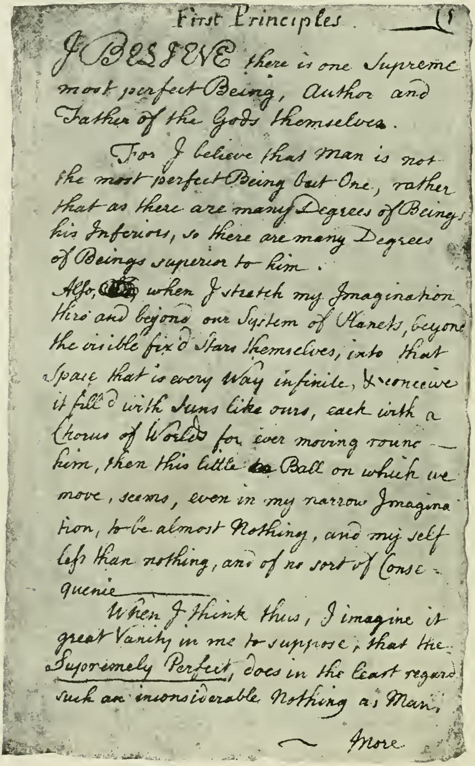
Franklin was able to joke thus because he himself placed works far above worship, and he made Poor Richard remark: "Serving God is doing good to Man, but praying is thought an easier serving, and therefore most generally chosen." Yet he did not think that the most altruistic life entitled one to immortality.

> "For my own part," he wrote, "when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favours, but as paying debts. In my travels and since my settlement I have received much kindness from men, to whom I shall never have any opportunity of making the least direct return, and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. These kindnesses from men I can therefore only return on their fellow-men;

and I can only show my gratitude for those mercies from God, by a readiness to help his other children and my brethren. For I do not think that thanks and compliments tho' repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator.

"You will see in this my notion of good works, that I am far from expecting (as you suppose) that I shall ever merit heaven by them. By heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree and eternal in duration. I can do nothing to deserve such reward. He that for giving a draught of water to a thirsty person should expect to be paid with a good plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve heaven for the little good they do on earth. Even the mixed, imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world are rather from God's goodness than our merit; how much more such happiness in heaven. For my own part, I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, the folly to expect it, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who hitherto preserv'd and bless'd me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable, and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit."

This conviction is constantly reiterated in his writings. When Whitefield expressed a hope for his "eternal" as well as his temporal happiness, Franklin wrote back: "I have myself no doubt, that I shall enjoy as much of both as is proper for me. That Being, who gave me existence, and through almost three-score years has been continually showering his favors upon me, whose very chastisements have been blessings to me; can I doubt that he loves me? And if he loves me, can I doubt that he will go on to take care of me, not only here but hereafter? This to some may seem presumption; to me it appears the best grounded hope; hope of the future built on experience of the past." He even found in the evil of the world further reason for his faith:



First Principles. (1

I BELIEVE there is one Supreme most perfect Being, Author and Father of the Gods themselves.

For I believe that Man is not the most perfect Being but One, rather that as there are many Degrees of Beings his Inferiors, so there are many Degrees of Beings superior to him.

Also, [illegible] when I stretch my Imagination thro' and beyond our System of Planets, beyond the visible fix'd Stars themselves, into that Space that is every Way infinite, & conceive it fill'd with Suns like ours, each with a Chorus of Worlds for ever moving round him, then this little ~~ba~~ Ball on which we move, seems, even in my narrow Imagination, to be almost Nothing, and my self less than nothing, and of no sort of Consequence.

When I think thus, I imagine it great Vanity in me to suppose, that the Supremely Perfect, does in the least regard such an inconsiderable Nothing as Man.

~ More

FIRST PAGE OF FRANKLIN'S PRIVATE DEVOTIONAL BOOK.

"I find in this life there are many troubles. But it appears to me also that there are many more pleasures. This is why I love to live. One must not blame Providence inconsiderately. Reflect on how many of our duties even she has made to be pleasures naturally; and has had the further kindness to give the name of sin to several so that we may enjoy them with more relish!"

Franklin expressed this same opinion with some bitterness in a letter which touched upon the Revolutionary War, and the power by which a "single man [George III] in England who happens to love blood and to hate Americans" should have been permitted to destroy "near one hundred thousand human creatures." "I wonder at this, but I cannot therefore part with the comfortable belief of a Divine Providence; and the more I see the impossibility, from the number and extent of his crimes, of giving equivalent punishment to a wicked man in this life, the more I am convinced of a future state, in which all that here appears to be wrong shall be set right, all that is crooked made straight. In this faith let you and me, my dear friend, comfort ourselves; it is the only comfort, in the present dark scene of things, that is allowed us." But he was too much of a scientist to base his belief solely on such abstractions, and his chief argument has a touch of modernity that is very striking:

> "You see I have some reason to wish that, in a future state, I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it; for I, too, with your poet, *trust in God.* And when I observe that there is great frugality as well as wisdom in his works, since he has been evidently sparing both of labor and materials, for by the various inventions of propagation he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound substances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new com-

positions, he has prevented the necessity of creating new matter; so that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which, being compounded from wood, do, when the wood is dissolved, return, and again become air, earth, fire, and water; — I say that when I see nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water wasted, I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls, or believe that he will suffer the daily waste of millions of minds ready made that now exist, and put himself to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myself to exist in the world, I believe I shall, in some shape or other, always exist; and, with all the inconveniences human life is liable to, I shall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping, however, that the *errata* of the last may be corrected."

Not quite six weeks before his death, at the request of a friend, he wrote out what he had come to believe:

"You desire to know something of my religion. It is the first time I have been questioned upon it, but I cannot take your curiosity amiss and shall endeavor in a few words to gratify it. Here is my creed. I believe in one God, the Creator of the Universe. That he governs it by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. The most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children. The soul of man is immortal and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion, and I regard them, as you do, in whatever sect I meet with them.

"As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think his system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is like to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting changes, and I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some doubts as to his divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it, and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble. I see no harm, however, in its being believed, if that belief has the good consequence, as probably it has, of making his doctrines more respected and more observed; especially as I do not perceive that the Supreme takes it amiss, by distinguishing the unbelievers in his government of the world with any peculiar mark of displeasure.

"I shall only add, respecting myself, that, having experienced the goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously through a long life, I have no doubt of its continuance in the next, though without the smallest conceit of meriting such goodness."

This was written while Franklin was suffering almost constant physical torture, which he endured, so an eyewitness tells us, "with that calm fortitude which characterised him through life. No repining, no peevish expression, ever escaped him during a confinement of two years, in which, I believe, if every moment of ease could be added together, [it] would not amount to two whole months. . . . Even when the intervals from pain were so short that his words were frequently interrupted, I have known him to hold a discourse in a sublime strain of piety. . . . It is natural for us to wish that an attention to some ceremonies had accompanied that religion of the heart which I am convinced Dr. Franklin always possessed; but let us who feel the benefit of them, continue to practise them, without thinking lightly of that piety, which could support pain without a murmur, and meet death without terror." In a letter of condolence which Franklin wrote to a relative on the death of his brother, he said:

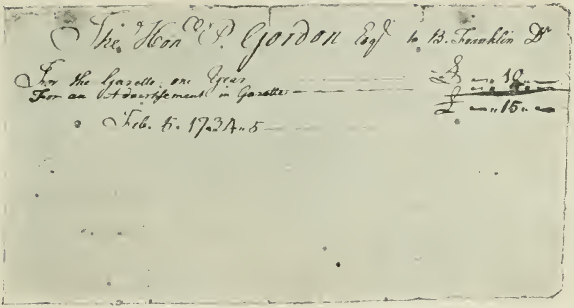
"It is the will of God and nature that these mortal bodies be laid aside when the soul is to enter into real life. This is rather an embryo state, a preparation for living. A man is not completely born until he be dead. Why then should we grieve that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their society?

"We are spirits. That bodies should be lent us, while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent that a way is provided by which we may get rid of them. Death is that way. We ourselves, in some cases, prudently choose a partial death. A mangled painful limb which cannot be restored we willingly cut off. He who plucks out a tooth parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he who quits the whole body, parts at once with all pains and possibilities of pains and diseases which it was liable to or capable of making him suffer.

"Our friend and we were invited abroad on a party of pleasure, which is to last for ever. His chair was ready first, and he is gone before us. We could not all conveniently start together; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are so soon to follow, and know where to find him? Adieu."

OLD QUAKER MEETING-HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA. (WHERE FRANKLIN WENT TO SLEEP.)

Southwest corner of Second and Market streets. Court-house in the middle of the street. After an old lithograph.



The Honble P. Gordon Esqr to B. Franklin Dr
For the Gazette one Year —— £ –.10.–
For an Advertisement in Gazette —— [illegible]
£ –.15.–
Feb. 5. 1734.5

BILL FOR "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE" IN FRANKLIN'S HANDWRITING.
Original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

V

PRINTER AND PUBLISHER

"VIRTUE and a Trade, are a Child's best Portion," said Poor Richard, and he not merely claimed, "He that hath a Trade, hath an Estate," but "He that has a Trade has an Office of Profit and Honour." Through all Franklin's life, he never missed an opportunity to praise the workman, be his calling what it might, and nowhere did he show more pride than in his own particular handicraft.

Printing was not a family "mystery," as it was then termed, of the Franklins, they having hitherto been blacksmiths, dyers, or soap-makers. But Josiah, with ten boys to place in the world, had to seek other crafts, and James Franklin was sent to London, presumptively to his uncle Benjamin, and there apprenticed to a printer. His time out, he purchased a press and types, and returning to Boston in March, 1717, established "his Printing House in Queen Street, near the Prison," otherwise described as "over against Mr. Mills Schools." Thanks to his English training, probably, he was a good workman, and the issues of his press rank among the best of American printing of his time. From the first he seems to have prospered, and within a year needed an apprentice, who was easily found in his brother Benjamin, though not so easily bound, for the lad had a "hankering for the sea," and so objected to being apprenticed to the more humdrum life of printer's devil. "I stood out some time," he relates, "but at last was persuaded and signed the indentures when I was but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made great proficiency in the business and became a very useful hand to my brother." It was certainly good fortune which secured him the instruction of a master printer of London training instead of some slovenly self-taught colonial, for, as Poor Richard remarked, "Learn of the skilful: He that teaches himself hath a fool for his master."

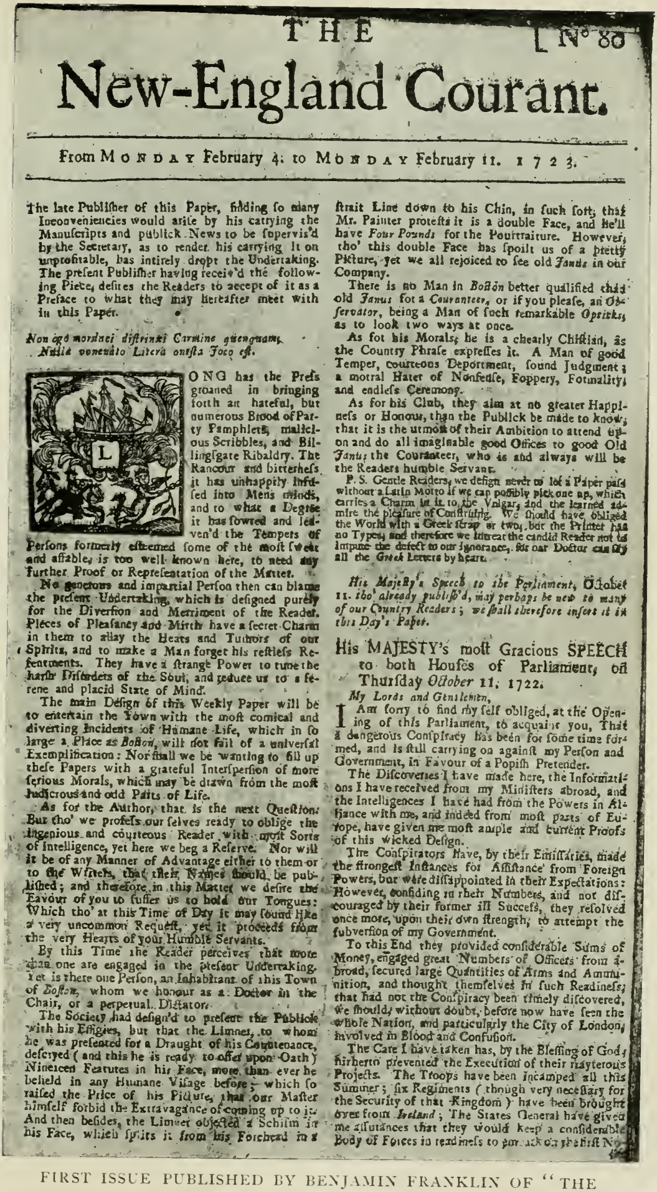
It is to be questioned if the first years of the apprenticeship were of any particular value to Benjamin, save on their mechanic side, for the product of James Franklin's press is a dreary lot of "gone-nothingness." A few of the New England sermons of the day; Stoddard's "Treatise on Conversion"; Stone's "Short

Catechism"; "A Prefatory Letter about Psalmody," in defense of church singing, which many Puritans still held to be unholy; an allegory styled "The Isle of Man, or, Legal Proceedings in Manshire Against Sin"; Care's "English Liberties"; sundry pamphlets on the local politics of the moment, such as "A Letter from One in the Country to his Friend in Boston," "News from the Moon," "A Friendly Check from a Kind Relation to the Chief Cannonneer," and "A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country"; two or three tractates on inoculation, and one aimed half at the Boston clergy and half at the fair sex, entitled "Hooped Petticoats Arraigned by the Light of Nature and the Law of God," were the chief output of the new printer during the years his brother served him.

In 1719 a more interesting job was undertaken, for the postmaster of Boston employed James Franklin to print for him the "Boston Gazette," the third paper issued in America. The contract was a short one, for the appointment of a new official led to other changes, and the printer, having supplied his office with what was needful for a newspaper and trained his men in the work, found himself left in the lurch. Partly in retaliation, and partly to utilize this experience and material, James Franklin, though "dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America," on August 7, 1721, issued the first number of "The New England Courant," which he promised should "be published once a Fortnight, and out of meer Kindness to my *Brother-Writers*, I intend now and then to be (like them) very, very dull; for I have a strong Fancy, that unless I am sometimes flat and low, this paper will not be very grateful to them." The dullness was to be only one feature of the new venture, however, for the "*Publisher earnestly desires his Friends may favor him from time to time with some short Piece*, Serious, Sarcastick, Ludicrous, *or otherways amusing; or sometimes professedly Dul* (*to accomodate some of his Acquaintance*) *that this Courant may be of the more universal Use.*"

This prospectus was taken in bad part by the already established journals, and one irate rival addressed an open letter to "Jack Dullman," taking him to task for his "very very frothy fulsome Account of himself"; a reproof the printer acknowledged in a joking poem which still more deeply stirred the objector, and led him to reply to what he termed "Franklin's hobbling Verse," which came not "from Parnassus; but as a little before the Composure you had been rakeing in the Dunghill, its more probable the corrupt Streams got into your Brains, and your Dull cold Skul precipitated them into Ribaldry."

In his appeal for subscribers, "The Undertaker" of the "Courant" pledged himself that nothing should be inserted "reflecting on the Clergy (as such) of whatever Denomination, nor relating to the Affairs of Government, and no Trespass against Decency or good manners." As already told, however, the "Courant" was quickly breaking lances with the most prominent of the Boston clergy, and within a twelvemonth of its beginning it printed an article which by implication threw



THE [Nº 80

New-England Courant.

From MONDAY February 4. to MONDAY February 11. 1723.

The late Publiſher of this Paper, finding ſo many Inconveniencies would ariſe by his carrying the Manuſcripts and publick News to be ſupervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intirely dropt the Undertaking. The preſent Publiſher having receiv'd the following Piece, deſires the Readers to accept of it as a Preface to what they may hereafter meet with in this Paper.

Non ego mordaci diſtrinxi Carmine quenquam,
Nulla venenato Litera mixta Joco eſt.

LONG has the Preſs groaned in bringing forth an hateful, but numerous Brood of Party Pamphlets, malicious Scribbles, and Billingſgate Ribaldry. The Rancour and bitterneſs it has unhappily infuſed into Mens minds, and to what a Degree it has ſowred and leaven'd the Tempers of Perſons formerly eſteemed ſome of the moſt ſweet and affable, is too well known here, to need any further Proof or Repreſentation of the Matter.

No generous and impartial Perſon then can blame the preſent Undertaking, which is deſigned purely for the Diverſion and Merriment of the Reader. Pieces of Pleaſancy and Mirth have a ſecret Charm in them to allay the Heats and Tumors of our Spirits, and to make a Man forget his reſtleſs Reſentments. They have a ſtrange Power to tune the harſh Diſorders of the Soul, and reduce us to a ſerene and placid State of Mind.

The main Deſign of this Weekly Paper will be to entertain the Town with the moſt comical and diverting Incidents of Humane Life, which in ſo large a Place as *Boſton*, will not fail of a univerſal Exemplification: Nor ſhall we be wanting to fill up theſe Papers with a grateful Interſperſion of more ſerious Morals, which may be drawn from the moſt ludicrous and odd Parts of Life.

As for the Author, that is the next Queſtion: But tho' we profeſs our ſelves ready to oblige the ingenious and courteous Reader with moſt Sorts of Intelligence, yet here we beg a Reſerve. Nor will it be of any Manner of Advantage either to them or to the Writers, that their Names ſhould be publiſhed; and therefore in this Matter we deſire the Favour of you to ſuffer us to hold our Tongues: Which tho' at this Time of Day it may ſound like a very uncommon Requeſt, yet it proceeds from the very Hearts of your Humble Servants.

By this Time the Reader perceives that more than one are engaged in the preſent Undertaking. Yet is there one Perſon, an Inhabitant of this Town of *Boſton*, whom we honour as a Doctor in the Chair, or a perpetual Dictator.

The Society had deſign'd to preſent the Publick with his Effigies, but that the Limner, to whom he was preſented for a Draught of his Countenance, deſcryed (and this he is ready to offer upon Oath) Nineteen Features in his Face, more than ever he beheld in any Humane Viſage before; which ſo raiſed the Price of his Picture, that our Maſter himſelf forbid the Extravagance of coming up to it. And then beſides, the Limner objected a Schiſm in his Face, which ſplits it from his Forehead in a ſtrait Line down to his Chin, in ſuch ſort, that Mr. Painter proteſts it is a double Face, and he'll have *Four Pounds* for the Pourtraiture. However, tho' this double Face has ſpoilt us of a pretty Picture, yet we all rejoiced to ſee old *Janus* in our Company.

There is no Man in *Boſton* better qualified than old *Janus* for a *Couranteer*, or if you pleaſe, an *Obſervator*, being a Man of ſuch remarkable *Opticks*, as to look two ways at once.

As for his Morals, he is a chearly Chriſtian, as the Country Phraſe expreſſes it. A Man of good Temper, courteous Deportment, ſound Judgment; a mortal Hater of Nonſenſe, Foppery, Formality, and endleſs Ceremony.

As for his Club, they aim at no greater Happineſs or Honour, than the Publick be made to know, that it is the utmoſt of their Ambition to attend upon and do all imaginable good Offices to good Old *Janus* the Couranteer, who is and always will be the Readers humble Servant.

P. S. Gentle Readers, we deſign never to let a Paper paſs without a Latin Motto if we can poſſibly pick one up, which carries a Charm in it to the Vulgar, and the learned admire the pleaſure of Conſtruing. We ſhould have obliged the World with a Greek ſcrap or two, but the Printer has no Types, and therefore we intreat the candid Reader not to impute the defect to our Ignorance, for our Doctor can ſay all the *Greek* Letters by heart.

His Majeſty's Speech to the Parliament, October 11. tho' already publiſh'd, may perhaps be new to many of our Country Readers; we ſhall therefore inſert it in this Day's Paper.

His MAJESTY's moſt Gracious SPEECH to both Houſes of Parliament, on Thurſday *October* 11. 1722.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am ſorry to find my ſelf obliged, at the Opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, That a dangerous Conſpiracy has been for ſome time formed, and is ſtill carrying on againſt my Perſon and Government, in Favour of a Popiſh Pretender.

The Diſcoveries I have made here, the Informations I have received from my Miniſters abroad, and the Intelligences I have had from the Powers in Alliance with me, and indeed from moſt parts of Europe, have given me moſt ample and current Proofs of this wicked Deſign.

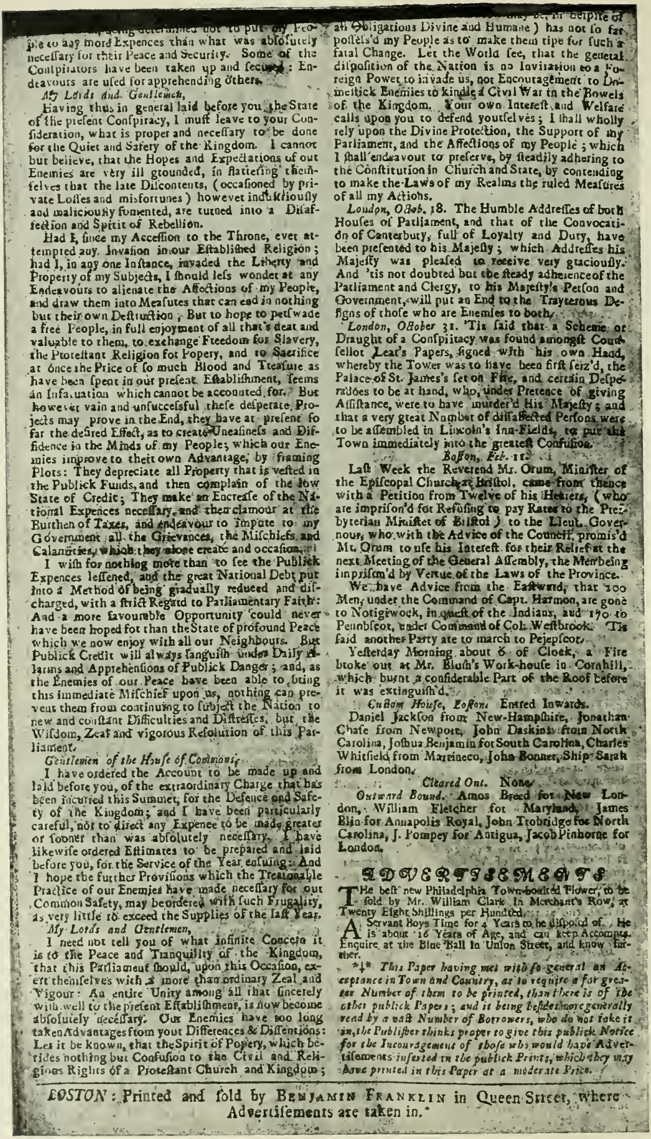
The Conſpirators have, by their Emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt Inſtances for Aſſiſtance from Foreign Powers, but were diſappointed in their Expectations: However, confiding in their Numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill Succeſs, they reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of my Government.

To this End they provided conſiderable Sums of Money, engaged great Numbers of Officers from abroad, ſecured large Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thought themſelves in ſuch Readineſs, that had not the Conſpiracy been timely diſcovered, we ſhould, without doubt, before now have ſeen the whole Nation, and particularly the City of London, involved in Blood and Confuſion.

The Care I have taken has, by the Bleſſing of God, hitherto prevented the Execution of their trayterous Projects. The Troops have been incamped all this Summer; ſix Regiments (though very neceſſary for the Security of that Kingdom) have been brought over from *Ireland*; The States General have given me aſſurances that they would keep a conſiderable Body of Forces in readineſs to embark on the firſt No

FIRST ISSUE PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OF "THE NEW ENGLAND COURANT."

From the original in the British Museum.



determined not to put my People to any more Expences than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their Peace and Security. Some of the Conſpirators have been taken up and ſecured: Endeavours are uſed for apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having thus in general laid before you the State of the preſent Conſpiracy, I muſt leave to your Conſideration, what is proper and neceſſary to be done for the Quiet and Safety of the Kingdom. I cannot but believe, that the Hopes and Expectations of our Enemies are very ill grounded, in flattering themſelves that the late Diſcontents, (occaſioned by private Loſſes and misfortunes) however induſtriouſly and maliciouſly fomented, are turned into a Diſaffection and Spirit of Rebellion.

Had I, ſince my Acceſſion to the Throne, ever attempted any Invaſion in our Eſtabliſhed Religion; had I, in any one Inſtance, invaded the Liberty and Property of my Subjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any Endeavours to alienate the Affections of my People, and draw them into Meaſures that can end in nothing but their own Deſtruction; But to hope to perſwade a free People, in full enjoyment of all that's dear and valuable to them, to exchange Freedom for Slavery, the Proteſtant Religion for Popery, and to Sacrifice at once the Price of ſo much Blood and Treaſure as have been ſpent in our preſent Eſtabliſhment, ſeems an Infatuation which cannot be accounted for. But however vain and unſucceſsful theſe deſperate Projects may prove in the End, they have at preſent ſo far the deſired Effect, as to create Uneaſineſs and Diffidence in the Minds of my People; which our Enemies improve to their own Advantage, by framing Plots: They depreciate all Property that is veſted in the Publick Funds, and then complain of the low State of Credit; They make an Encreaſe of the National Expences neceſſary, and then clamour at the Burthen of Taxes, and endeavour to impute to my Government all the Grievances, the Miſchiefs and Calamities, which they alone create and occaſion.

I wiſh for nothing more than to ſee the Publick Expences leſſened, and the great National Debt put into a Method of being gradually reduced and diſcharged, with a ſtrict Regard to Parliamentary Faith: And a more favourable Opportunity could never have been hoped for than the State of profound Peace which we now enjoy with all our Neighbours. But Publick Credit will always languiſh under Daily Alarms and Apprehenſions of Publick Danger; and, as the Enemies of our Peace have been able to bring this immediate Miſchief upon us, nothing can prevent them from continuing to ſubject the Nation to new and conſtant Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, but the Wiſdom, Zeal and vigorous Reſolution of this Parliament.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the Account to be made up and laid before you, of the extraordinary Charge that has been incurred this Summer, for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct any Expence to be made greater or ſooner than was abſolutely neceſſary. I have likewiſe ordered Eſtimates to be prepared and laid before you, for the Service of the Year enſuing: And I hope the further Proviſions which the Treaſonable Practice of our Enemies have made neceſſary for our Common Safety, may be ordered with ſuch Frugality, as very little to exceed the Supplies of the laſt Year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I need not tell you of what infinite Concern it is to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, that this Parliament ſhould, upon this Occaſion, exert themſelves with a more than ordinary Zeal and Vigour: An entire Unity among all that ſincerely wiſh well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, is now become abſolutely neceſſary. Our Enemies have too long taken Advantages from your Differences & Diſſentions: Let it be known, that the Spirit of Popery, which breathes nothing but Confuſion to the Civil and Religious Rights of a Proteſtant Church and Kingdom; may be, in Deſpite of all Obligations Divine and Humane) has not ſo far poſſeſs'd my People as to make them ripe for ſuch a fatal Change. Let the World ſee, that the general diſpoſition of the Nation is no Invitation to a Foreign Power to invade us, nor Encouragement to Domeſtick Enemies to kindle a Civil War in the Bowels of the Kingdom. Your own Intereſt and Welfare calls upon you to defend yourſelves; I ſhall wholly rely upon the Divine Protection, the Support of my Parliament, and the Affections of my People; which I ſhall endeavour to preſerve, by ſteadily adhering to the Conſtitution in Church and State, by contending to make the Laws of my Realms the ruled Meaſures of all my Actions.

London, Octob. 18. The Humble Addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament, and that of the Convocation of Canterbury, full of Loyalty and Duty, have been preſented to his Majeſty; which Addreſſes his Majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly. And 'tis not doubted but the ſteady adherence of the Parliament and Clergy, to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, will put an End to the Trayterous Deſigns of thoſe who are Enemies to both.

London, October 31. 'Tis ſaid that a Scheme or Draught of a Conſpiracy was found amongſt Counſellor Lear's Papers, ſigned with his own Hand, whereby the Tower was to have been firſt ſeiz'd, the Palace of St. James's ſet on Fire, and certain Deſperadoes to be at hand, who, under Pretence of giving Aſſiſtance, were to have murder'd His Majeſty; and that a very great Number of diſaffected Perſons were to be aſſembled in Lincoln's Inn-Fields, to put the Town immediately into the greateſt Confuſion.

Boſton, Feb. 11.

Laſt Week the Reverend Mr. Orum, Miniſter of the Epiſcopal Church at Briſtol, came from thence with a Petition from Twelve of his Hearers, (who are impriſon'd for Refuſing to pay Rates to the Presbyterian Miniſter of Briſtol) to the Lieut. Governour, who with the Advice of the Council, promis'd Mr. Orum to uſe his Intereſt for their Relief at the next Meeting of the General Aſſembly, the Men being impriſon'd by Vertue of the Laws of the Province.

We have Advice from the Eaſtward, that 200 Men, under the Command of Capt. Harmon, are gone to Notigiwock, in queſt of the Indians, and 170 to Penobſcot, under Command of Col. Weſtbrook. 'Tis ſaid another Party are to march to Pejepſcot.

Yeſterday Morning about 6 of Clock, a Fire broke out at Mr. Bluſh's Work-houſe in Cornhill, which burnt a conſiderable Part of the Roof before it was extinguiſh'd.

Cuſtom Houſe, Boſton. Entred Inwards.

Daniel Jackſon from New-Hampſhire, Jonathan Chaſe from Newport, John Daskins from North Carolina, Joſhua Benjamin for South Carolina, Charles Whitfield from Martineco, John Bonner, Ship Sarah from London.

Cleared Out. None.

Outward Bound. Amos Breed for New London, William Fletcher for Maryland, James Blin for Annapolis Royal, John Trobridge for North Carolina, J. Pompey for Antigua, Jacob Pinhorne for London.

ADVERTISEMENTS

THe beſt new Philadelphia Town-boulted Flower, to be ſold by Mr. William Clark in Merchant's Row, at Twenty Eight Shillings per Hundred.

A Servant Boys Time for 4 Years to be diſpoſed of. He is about 16 Years of Age, and can keep Accompts. Enquire at the Blue Ball in Union Street, and know further.

‡ *This Paper having met with ſo general an Acceptance in Town and Country, as to require a far greater Number of them to be printed, than there is of the other publick Papers; and it being beſides more generally read by a vaſt Number of Borrowers, who do not take it in, the Publiſher thinks proper to give this publick Notice for the Incouragement of thoſe who would have* Advertiſements *inſerted in the publick Prints, which they may have printed in this Paper at a moderate Price.*

BOSTON: Printed and ſold by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in Queen Street, where
Advertiſements are taken in.

FIRST ISSUE PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OF "THE NEW ENGLAND COURANT."

discredit on the civil authorities. For this "Scandalous Libel" James Franklin was, by order of the council, taken into custody, publicly censured, and imprisoned for four weeks. Moreover, an attempt was made to pass a resolve that "no such Weekly Paper be hereafter Printed or Published without the same being first perused and allowed by the Secretary," but this was rejected as too extreme.

The reproof and punishment were ineffectual, and the authorities complained that the "Courant" continued "boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government and on the Administration of it in this Province, the Ministry, Churches and College; and it very often contains Paragraphs that tend to fill the Readers minds with vanity, to the Dishonor of God, and disservice of Good Men." Finally, a particular issue of the journal had so strong a "Tendency" to "Mock Religion and bring it into Contempt," and so "profanely abused" the Bible, and so "injuriously reflected on the Reverend and Faithful Ministers of the Gospel, and His Majesty's Government," that James Franklin was "strictly forbidden" to "Print or Publish" the "Courant," or "any Pamphlet or Paper of like Nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of this Province."

This inhibition brought the prentice, whose share at first had been "to carry the papers thro' the street to the customers," more to the fore. In the trial of James Franklin, Benjamin was "taken up and examin'd before the Council; but, tho' I did not give them any satisfaction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice who was bound to keep his master's secrets." Upon his brother's imprisonment, Franklin, though but sixteen, assumed the management of the paper, and when the order was issued that James Franklin should no longer print the "Courant"

> "There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother, seeing inconveniences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be return'd to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months."

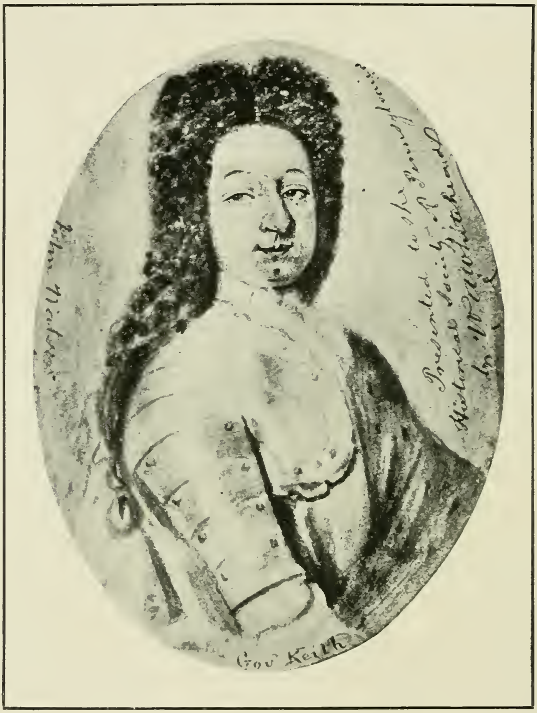
United as the brothers might be in their fight with church and state, there was serious disagreement between them, and

> "At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not an ill-natur'd man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking. When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town, by going

round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refus'd to give me work."

Failing to secure employment in Boston, Franklin became the runaway prentice so frequently advertised for at that time. Sneaking on board a sloop, "in three days I found myself in New York, near 300 miles from home, a boy of but 17, without the least recommendation to, or knowledge of any person in the place, and with very little money in my pocket." However, "At the workingman's house hunger looks in, but does not enter," and "having a trade, and supposing myself a pretty good workman, I offer'd my services to the printer in the place, old Mr. William Bradford." From him he obtained no direct aid, but he was told of a possible place in Philadelphia, and at once set out for that city. Here he obtained a job from Samuel Keimer, one of the two printers of the place, and worked with him till a more ambitious opening offered.

By chance a letter of the lad was shown to the governor of Pennsylvania, Sir William Keith. From it he inferred that Franklin was "a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged," for the "printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones." He advised, therefore, that the newcomer should start in business on his own account, "making no doubt I should succeed," and hinted that "he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power." Keith came to the printing-office to see the young journeyman, which made his master stare "like a pig poison'd," and took him off to a tavern, where "over the Madeira he propos'd my setting up my business," and was so eager to bring it to pass that he wrote a letter to Josiah Franklin, recommending him to advance his son the necessary money.



GOVERNOR KEITH.
From the portrait in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The father, however, with more prudence, or possibly from lack of the means, disapproved of the scheme.

Sir William, despite this damper, still stuck to his suggestion, and offered to loan Franklin the needed funds. "Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England," he told the young fellow, "and I will send for them." When made out it amounted to about one hundred pounds sterling, and, "at the governor's suggestion," it was decided that Franklin should go to London to make the purchase, because of the advantage of "my being on the spot . . . to chuse the types and see that everything was good of the kind."

Never dreaming of bad faith, Franklin got him aboard ship, and on Christmas eve of 1724 reached London. It proved a sorry holiday time to him, for here it was that he first learned that he had been deceived with false promises and hopes, and that the governor's name would not have procured him the necessary credit to purchase the outfit, even had he fulfilled his word. It was a bitter disappointment to the lad, whom Poor Richard had not yet taught that "Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn at no other."

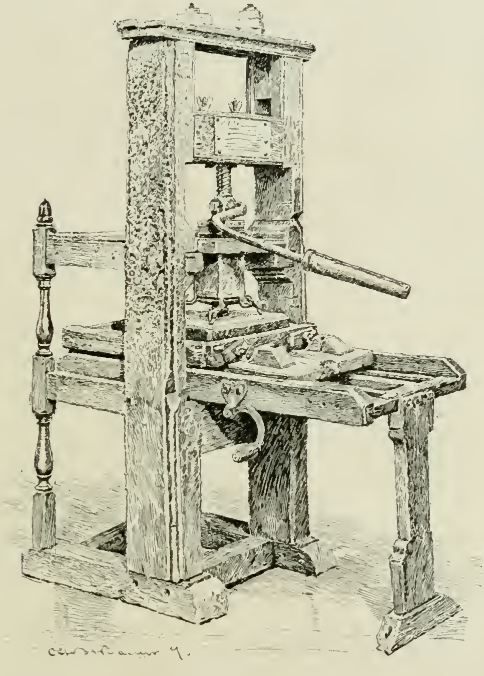
Once again Franklin had proof of the value of a trade, for "I immediately got into work at Palmers, then a famous printing-house in Bartholomew Close, and here I continu'd near a year," lodging meantime in "Little Britain at three shillings and sixpence a week." It was in this establishment that Franklin set up and printed for himself his "wicked tract," and however much he may have later thought it "an erratum," the pamphlet is typographically anything but that, and as a piece of book-making shows him already a most admirable "brother of the type."

Leaving Palmer's, in the hope of bettering himself, Franklin went to "Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing-house," and "here I continued all the rest of my stay in London." At first "I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of bodily exercise I had been us'd to in America, where press work is mixed with composing."

> "Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the pressmen; a new bien venu or sum for drink, being five shillings, was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid below; the master thought so too, and forbad my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private mischief done me, by mixing my sorts, transposing my pages, breaking my matter, etc., etc., if I were ever so little out of the room, and all ascribed to the chappel ghost, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself oblig'd to comply and pay the money, convinc'd of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.
>
> "I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquir'd considerable influence. I propos'd some reasonable alterations in their chappel laws, and carried them against all opposition. . . . My constant attendance (I never making a St. Monday) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon all work of dispatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably."

At the end of eighteen months a good business offer from a Philadelphia merchant who had come to London to purchase goods tempted Franklin into leaving the printing-office and England, and in less than two years from the time he had sailed he once more landed at Philadelphia. Only three months later his employer sickened and died, and for a third time he was without a livelihood. But his London training had taught him much of his trade, and to that extent he was the richer.

In throwing up his job at Watts's establishment, Franklin "took leave of printing, as I supposed for ever." Acting on this conclusion, "I tried for farther employment as a merchant's clerk." Not succeeding,



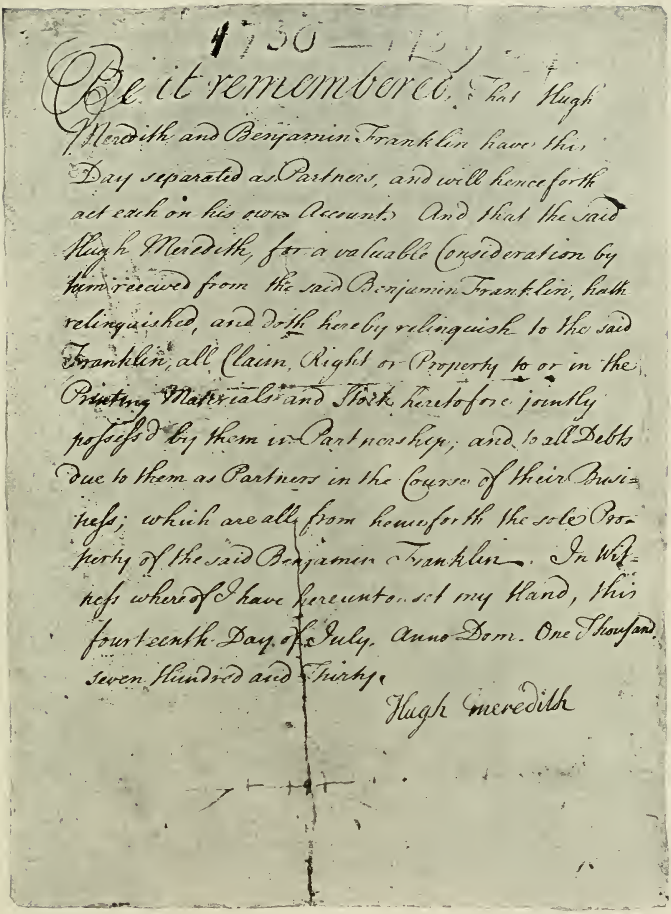
PRESS AT WHICH FRANKLIN WORKED IN WATTS'S PRINTING-OFFICE, LONDON, 1725.

It is owned by Mrs. Felicia M. Tucker of New York, and is in the custody of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Keimer's lack of a skilled workman and Franklin's lack of work brought the two together. His old employer "tempted me, with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take his printing-house, that he might better attend to his stationer's shop," and Franklin "clos'd again" with him.

Franklin found in Keimer's employ a number of green hands whom "he had agreed with at extream low wages per week, to be rais'd a shilling every three months, as they would deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages, to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with."

> "I soon perceiv'd that the intention of engaging me at wages so much higher than he had been us'd to give, was, to have these raw, cheap hands form'd thro' me; and, as soon as I had instructed them, then they being all articled to him, he should be able to do without me. I went on, however, very cheerfully, put his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better. . . .
>
> "Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-founder in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I now contrived a mould, made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supply'd in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engrav'd several things on occasion; I made the ink; I was warehouseman, and everything, and, in short, quite a factotum.
>
> "But, however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improv'd in the business; and, when Keimer paid my second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more of the master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seem'd ready for an out-breaking. I went on, nevertheless, with a good deal of patience, thinking



1730 —

Be it remembered, That Hugh Meredith and Benjamin Franklin have this Day separated as Partners, and will henceforth act each on his own Account. And that the said Hugh Meredith, for a valuable Consideration by him received from the said Benjamin Franklin, hath relinquished, and doth hereby relinquish to the said Franklin, all Claim, Right or Property to or in the Printing Materials and Stock heretofore jointly poſseſs'd by them in Partnership, and to all Debts due to them as Partners in the Course of their Buſineſs; which are all from henceforth the sole Property of the said Benjamin Franklin. In Witneſs whereof I have hereunto set my Hand, this fourteenth Day of July, Anno Dom. One Thousand seven Hundred and Thirty.

Hugh Meredith

DISSOLUTION OF THE FIRM OF B. FRANKLIN AND H. MEREDITH.
From the original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

that his encumber'd circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapt our connections; for, a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer, being in the street, look'd up and saw me, call'd out to me in a loud voice and angry tone to mind my business, adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity, all the neighbors who were looking out on the same occasion, being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing-house, continu'd the quarrel, high words pass'd on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been oblig'd to so long a warning. I told him that his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so, taking my hat, walk'd out of doors."

One of Keimer's workmen, Hugh Meredith, came to Franklin in the evening and suggested that when his "time was out" they should form a partnership, his father to advance the money needed to obtain the press and types. "The proposal was agreeable, and I consented."

"I gave an inventory to the father," Franklin continues, "who carry'd it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remain'd idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employ'd to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the jobb from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instruction; so I return'd, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey jobb was obtain'd, I contriv'd a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I exe-

> cuted the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep his head much longer above water."

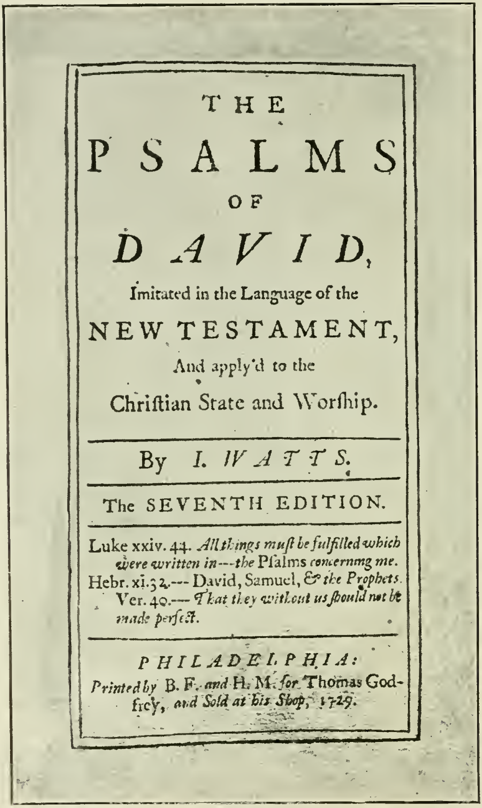
It was in the summer of 1728 that the firm of "B. Franklin and H. Meredith" set up their "New Printing-Office near the Market," and

> "We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and the gratitude I felt toward House has made me often more ready than perhaps I should otherwise have been to assist young beginners."

Another friend helped them by procuring

> "From the Quakers the printing forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon this we work'd exceedingly hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, pro patria size, in pica, with long primer notes. I compos'd of it a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work, for the little jobbs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determin'd I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night, when, having impos'd my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to pi, I immediately distributed and compos'd it over again before I went to bed."

Franklin was not the kind of man to depend on his friends for work, or even to sit still and let work come to him. The public printing, always a profitable matter, was in the hands of Andrew Bradford, and in December, 1728, he printed the usual "Speech of the Governor" at the meeting of the Assembly, "in a coarse, blundering manner; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly and sent one to every member. They



THE

PSALMS

OF

DAVID,

Imitated in the Language of the

NEW TESTAMENT,

And apply'd to the

Chriſtian State and Worſhip.

By *I. WATTS*.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

Luke xxiv. 44. *All things muſt be fulfilled which were written in---the* Pſalms *concerning me.*
Hebr. xi. 32.--- David, Samuel, *& the Prophets.*
Ver. 40.--- *That they without us ſhould not be made perfect.*

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by B. F. *and* H. M. *for* Thomas Godfrey, *and Sold at his Shop*, 1729.

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST ISSUE OF FRANKLIN'S PRESS.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

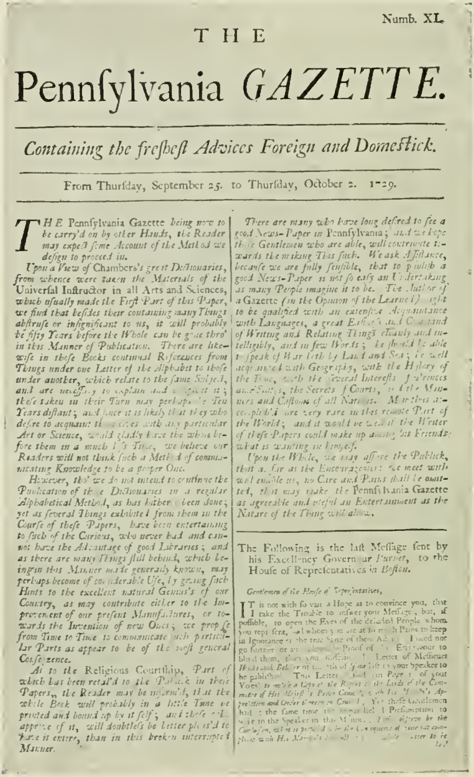
were sensible of the difference: it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing." A little later, for a timely pamphlet of his own writing, on a projected issue of paper money, his friends in the Assembly "thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money, a very profitable jobb and a great help to me." In 1732 influence secured him the printing of an issue of paper money for Delaware, "another profitable jobb," as well as of the "laws and votes of that government, which continu'd in my hands as long as I follow'd the business." So, too, he obtained the public printing of New Jersey.

The first book published by the young firm was an impression of Watts's "Psalms of David," a writer for whom Franklin had the greatest admiration, so much, in fact, that in his last hours "he repeated several of Watts Lyric Poems and discanted upon their sublimity." Apparently the people of Pennsylvania did not share this liking, for when Franklin some time after was criticized for printing a particular broadside, in his defense he urged that if printers occasionally "put forth vicious and silly things not worth reading, they did so, not because they liked such things themselves, but because the people were so viciously educated that good things were not encouraged." For instance, an "impression of the Psalms of David had been upon my shelves for above two years," yet he had "known a large impression of Robin Hood's Songs to go off in a twelvemonth."

Even before Franklin had printed this first volume, an inception of far more importance was in his thoughts, being a project to start a newspaper—a germ, probably, of his experience with "The New England Courant." But he had not yet learned from Poor Richard that "Three can keep a secret if two are dead," and so he confided his scheme, before it was well matured, to one of his former fellow-workmen, George Webb. By this means Keimer heard of the project, "immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for printing one himself," and late in 1728 issued the first number of "The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, or, The Pennsylvania Gazette." Despite its formidable title, its publisher claimed that it had attained the gigantic circulation of two hundred and fifty copies by its thirteenth issue, which meant a profit to him of at least sixty pounds a year. But already Franklin's old master was feeling the competition of the new firm, and when No. 27 of the paper was due there was a week's delay in its publication, which, Mr. Keimer presently explained to the public, was occasioned by the fact that he had been "awak'd when fast asleep in Bed, about Eleven at Night, over-tir'd with the Labour of the Day, and taken away from my Dwelling, by a Writ and Summons, it being basely and confidently given out, that I was that very Night about to run away, tho' there was not the least Colour or Ground for such a vile Report." Clearly this was not altogether a novel experience, for he styles himself "the Shuttlecock of Fortune . . . the very But for Villany to shoot at, or the continued Mark for Slander and her Imps to spit their Venom upon," and marvels that "a Person of strict Sincerity, refin'd Justice, and universal Love to the whole Creation, should for a Series of near twenty Years, be the constant But of Slander, as to be three Times ruin'd as a Master-Printer, to be Nine Times in Prison, one of which was Six Years together, and often reduc'd to the most wretched Circumstances, hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains, and persecuted with the most abominable Lies the Devil himself could invent, or Malice utter."

Released by the forbearance of his creditors, Keimer struggled along with his paper until No. 39 was reached, when he sold it to Franklin and Meredith for a small price, having then only ninety subscribers. Under the new management the absurd title was curtailed to "The Pennsylvania Gazette," and the paper otherwise improved. With the fourth issue Franklin announced that "Instead of Publishing a *Whole Sheet* once a Week, as the first Undertaker engag'd to do in his Proposals, we shall continue to publish a Half Sheet twice a Week, which amounts to the same Thing; only it is easier to us, and we think it will be more acceptable to our Readers, inasmuch as their Entertainment will by this Means become more frequent." This made it the first semi-weekly ever issued in America; but the printers were in advance of their public, and after issuing a few numbers they changed it back to a weekly.

Franklin's editorial share in the paper is described elsewhere, but one phase is more properly mentioned in considering him as a printer. Every one who has had to do with publishing in any shape has learned, as Cartagena remarked, that "Unto those Three Things which the Ancients held impossible, there should be added this Fourth, to find a Book Printed without erratas";



Numb. XL.

THE

Pennſylvania GAZETTE.

Containing the freſheſt Advices Foreign and Domeſtick.

From Thurſday, September 25. to Thurſday, October 2. 1729.

THE Pennſylvania Gazette *being now to be carry'd on by other Hands, the Reader may expect ſome Account of the Method we deſign to proceed in.*

Upon a View of Chambers's *great Dictionaries, from whence were taken the Materials of the* Univerſal Inſtructor in all Arts and Sciences, *which uſually made the Firſt Part of this Paper, we find that beſides their containing many Things abſtruſe or inſignificant to us, it will probably be fifty Years before the Whole can be gone thro' in this Manner of Publication. There are likewiſe in theſe Books continual References from Things under one Letter of the Alphabet to thoſe under another, which relate to the ſame Subject, and are neceſſary to explain and compleat it; theſe taken in their Turn may perhaps be Ten Years diſtant; and ſince it is likely that they who deſire to acquaint themſelves with any particular Art or Science, would gladly have the whole before them in a much leſs Time, we believe our Readers will not think ſuch a Method of communicating Knowledge to be a proper One.*

However, tho' we do not intend to continue the Publication of thoſe Dictionaries in a regular Alphabetical Method, as has hitherto been done; yet as ſeveral Things exhibited from them in the Courſe of theſe Papers, have been entertaining to ſuch of the Curious, who never had and cannot have the Advantage of good Libraries; and as there are many Things ſtill behind, which being in this Manner made generally known, may perhaps become of conſiderable Uſe, by giving ſuch Hints to the excellent natural Genius's of our Country, as may contribute either to the Improvement of our preſent Manufactures, or towards the Invention of new Ones; we propoſe from Time to Time to communicate ſuch particular Parts as appear to be of the moſt general Conſequence.

As to the Religious Courtſhip, *Part of which has been retal'd to the Publick in theſe Papers, the Reader may be inform'd, that the whole Book will probably in a little Time be printed and bound up by it ſelf; and thoſe who approve of it, will doubtleſs be better pleas'd to have it entire, than in this broken interrupted Manner.*

There are many who have long deſired to ſee a good News-Paper in Pennſylvania; *and we hope thoſe Gentlemen who are able, will contribute towards the making This ſuch. We ask Aſſiſtance, because we are fully ſenſible, that to publiſh a good News-Paper is not ſo eaſy an Undertaking as many People imagine it to be. The Author of a* Gazette *(in the Opinion of the Learned) ought to be qualified with an extenſive Acquaintance with Languages, a great Eaſineſs and Command of Writing and Relating Things clearly and intelligibly, and in few Words; he ſhould be able to ſpeak of War both by Land and Sea; be well acquainted with Geography, with the Hiſtory of the Time, with the ſeveral Intereſts of Princes and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners and Cuſtoms of all Nations. Men thus accompliſh'd are very rare in this remote Part of the World; and it would be well if the Writer of theſe Papers could make up among his Friends what is wanting in himſelf.*

Upon the Whole, we may aſſure the Publick, that as far as the Encouragement we meet with will enable us, no Care and Pains ſhall be omitted, that may make the Pennſylvania Gazette *as agreeable and uſeful an Entertainment as the Nature of the Thing will allow.*

The Following is the laſt Meſſage ſent by his Excellency Governour *Burnet*, to the Houſe of Repreſentatives in *Boſton.*

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

IT is not with ſo vain a Hope as to convince you, that I take the Trouble to anſwer your Meſſage, but, if poſſible, to open the Eyes of the deluded People whom you repreſent,

FRANKLIN'S FIRST ISSUE OF "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE."
From the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

but few have learned to turn them to so good an account as Franklin, and his explanations and apologies are among the most entertaining contributions to the paper. In one case his "papers were wrought off" with a bad transposition. But "the judicious Reader will easily distinguish accidental Errors from the Blunders of Ignorance, and more readily excuse the former which sometimes happen unavoidably." On another occasion, when Franklin had gone to New Jersey to print the paper currency of the colony, he availed himself of the popular liking for more money by the announcement that "The Printer hopes the irregular Publication of this Paper will be excused a few times by his Town Readers, on consideration of his being at Burlington with the press, labouring for the publick Good, to make Money more plentiful." Again, he addresses a letter to himself under a feigned name, with the motto, "Printerum est errare":

"SIR, As your last Paper was reading in some Company where I was present, these Words were taken Notice of in the Article concerning Governor Belcher, (After which his Excellency, with the Gentlemen trading to New England, died elegantly at Pontack's.) The Word died should doubtless have been dined, Pontack's being a noted Tavern and Eating-house in London for Gentlemen of Condition; but this Omission of the Letter (n) in that Word, gave us as much Entertainment as any Part of your Paper. One took the Opportunity of telling us, that in a certain Edition of the Bible, the Printer had, where David says I am fearfully and wonderfully made, omitted the Letter (e) in the last Word, so that it was, I am fearfully and wonderfully mad; which occasion'd an ignorant Preacher, who took that Text, to harangue his Audience for half an hour on the Subject of Spiritual Madness. Another related to us, that when the Company of Stationers in England had the Printing of the Bible in their Hands, the Word (not) was left out in the Seventh Commandment, and the whole Edition was printed off with Thou shalt commit Adultery, instead of Thou shalt not, &c. This material Erratum induc'd the Crown to take the Patent from them which is now held by the King's Printer. The Spectator's Remark upon this Story is, that he doubts many of our modern Gentlemen have this faulty Edition by 'em, and are not made sensible of the Mistake. A Third Person in the Company acquainted us with an unlucky Fault that went through a whole Impression of Common-Prayer-Books; in the Funeral Service, where these Words are, We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an Eye, &c., the Printer had omitted the (c) in changed, and it read thus, We shall all be hanged, &c. And lastly, a Mistake of your Brother News-Printer was mentioned, in The Speech of James Prouse written the Night before he was to have been executed, instead of I die a Protestant, he has put it, I died a Protestant. Upon the whole you came off with the more favourable Censure, because your Paper is most commonly very correct, and yet you were never known to triumph upon it, by publickly ridiculing and exposing the continual Blunders of your Contemporary. Which Observation was concluded by a good old Gentleman in Company, with this general just Remark, That whoever accustoms himself to pass over in Silence the Faults of his Neighbours, shall meet with much better Quarter from the World when he happens to fall into a Mistake himself; for the Satyrical and Censorious, whose Hand is against every Man, shall upon such Occasions have every Man's Hand against him."

It was not in his paper only that Franklin the editor blamed Franklin the printer, for in Poor Richard, after mentioning "a few Faults" in a previous year's issue, which he declared were "Mr. Printer's Faults," he continued: "These, and some others, of a like kind, let the Readers forgive, or rebuke him for, as to their Wisdom and Goodness shall seem meet: For in such Cases the Loss and Damage is chiefly to the Reader, who, if he does not take my Sense at first Reading, 't is odds he never gets it; for ten to one he does not read my Works a second Time."

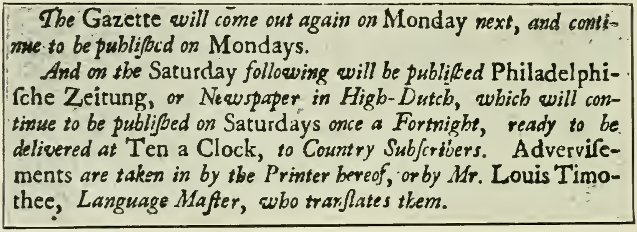
In the hands of its new manager the "Gazette" throve. It quickly secured the largest circulation of any paper in America, being distributed from Virginia to New York. It led, too, in advertising patronage, and this resulted in an almost continuous enlargement of its size. Franklin himself was a born advertiser, not merely of what he had to sell, but of anything which could be made the excuse for an advertisement, and some issues of his paper contain as many as seven of his own. From a couple can be gleaned some of the difficulties under which the publisher labored:

> "This present Paper, No. 303, finishes the Fifth Year, since the Printer hereof undertook the Gazette; no more need be said to my generous Subscribers, to remind them, that every one of those who are above a Twelve-month in Arrear, has it in his Power to contribute considerably towards the Happiness of his most obliged humble Servant,
>
> "B. Franklin."

> "This Gazette Numb. 564. begins the 11th Year since its first Publication: And whereas some Persons have taken it from the Beginning, and others for 7 or 8 Years, without paying me one Farthing, I do hereby give Notice to all who are upwards of one Year in Arrear, that if they do not make speedy Payment, I shall discontinue the Papers to them, and take some proper Method of Recovering my Money.
>
> "B. Franklin."

To this advertisement was added an N. B. to the effect that "No new Subscriber will be taken in for the future without Payment for the first half Year advanc'd," which, so far as known, is the first instance of the now universal system of prepayment.

Yet, despite these delinquencies, the "Gazette" was for its time a wonderfully profitable paper. When his second partner (David Hall) eventually bought Franklin out, and there was a final settlement, the statement shows the profits from 1748 to 1766 to have been over twelve thousand pounds for subscriptions and over four thousand pounds for advertisements, Pennsylvania currency; and though this account was settled at the time, as late as 1785 Franklin still had "an old account to settle . . . as regards a particular article of some importance about which we were not agreed. . . . It was the value of the copyright in an established newspaper of each of which from eight to ten thousand were printed," and he asks a printer-friend to arbitrate the matter, because "though I never differed . . . and never should if that good honest man had continued in being, to prevent all dispute on the above points with his son it is that I now request your decision, which I doubt not will be satisfactory to us both." So far as can be learned, Franklin was never compensated in this matter, though the paper continued to be printed until 1821, making it the longest-lived paper ever issued in this country.



The Gazette *will come out again on* Monday *next, and continue to be publiſhed on* Mondays.

And on the Saturday *following will be publiſhed* Philadelphiſche Zeitung, *or Newspaper in High-Dutch, which will continue to be publiſhed on* Saturdays *once a Fortnight, ready to be delivered at* Ten a Clock, *to Country Subſcribers.* Adverviſements *are taken in by the Printer hereof, or by Mr.* Louis Timothee, *Language Maſter, who tranſlates them.*

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE FIRST FOREIGN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The "Pennsylvania Gazette" was apparently not sufficient outlet for the active and energetic printer, for three years after he became its publisher he began the issue of a paper in German, designed to supply the Palatinates and other Germans who were then immigrating in such numbers to Pennsylvania, and from this time he printed many pamphlets in German.

Before this enlargement and success were achieved, Franklin had separated from Meredith. In his autobiography he remarks:

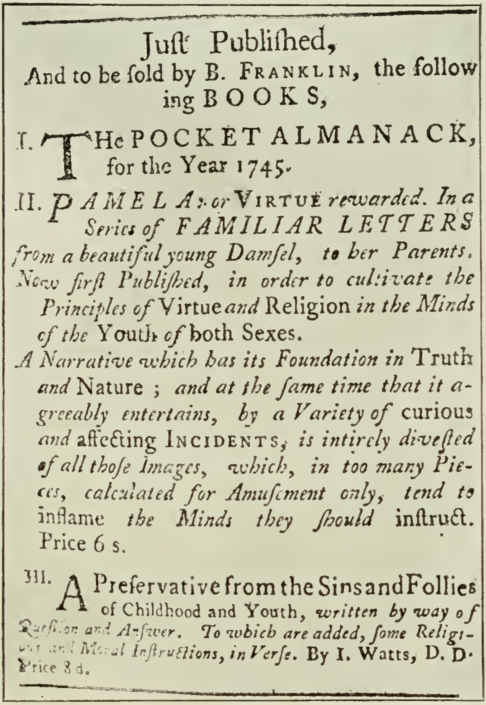
> "I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continu'd; the reason may be that, in fact, the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connection with him, but I was to make the best of it. . . . But now another difficulty came upon me which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing-house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid; and a hundred more was due to the merchant, who grew impatient, and su'd us all. We gave bail, but saw that, if the money could not be rais'd in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must, with us, be ruined, as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price."

"In this distress," Franklin relates, "two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget while I can remember anything, came to me separately, unknown to each other and without any application from me, offering each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself." Meredith, who was "often seen drunk in the streets, and playing at low games in the ale houses," had ceased to take an interest in his work, and it was finally agreed that, if Franklin would assume the debts, return Meredith's father the hundred pounds he had advanced, and pay Meredith a small sum, he would relinquish the partnership; and on these terms Franklin became sole owner of the printing-office.

Though the bulk of the issues of Franklin's press are of little moment, there can be no doubt that as a whole they contain more of genuine merit than those of any other printer of the same or previous periods in the colonies, the amount of doctrinal and polemical theology being a minimum, and bearing a less proportion to the whole mass than can be found in the books of contemporary American printers. In the earliest years of the venture he took the risk of printing two little volumes of American poetry, as well as reprinting other verses of European origin. In 1741 he published the earliest American medical treatise, Colden's "Essay on the Iliac Passion," and four years later the second Cadwalader's "Essay on the West India Dry Gripes." From his press came the first two pamphlets against slavery. In 1744 he reprinted Richardson's "Pamela," the first novel printed in America. Despite his personal disregard of the classics, as early as 1735 he printed James Logan's translation of Cato's "Moral Distichs," the first Latin work to be both translated and printed in America, which he prefaced by the remark:

> "In most Places that I am acquainted with, so great is the present Corruption of Manners, that a Printer shall find much

more Profit in such Things as flatter and encourage Vice, than in such as tend to promote its contrary. It would be thought a Piece of Hypocrisy and pharisaical Ostentation in me, if I should say, that I print these Distichs more with a View to the Good of others than my own private Advantage: And indeed I cannot say it; for I confess, I have so great Confidence in the common Virtue and Good Sense of the People of this and the neighbouring Provinces, that I expect to sell a very good Impression."



Juſt Publiſhed,
And to be ſold by B. FRANKLIN, the following BOOKS,

I. THe POCKET ALMANACK, for the Year 1745.

II. *PAMELA: or* VIRTUE *rewarded. In a Series of* FAMILIAR LETTERS *from a beautiful young Damſel, to her Parents. Now firſt Publiſhed, in order to cultivate the Principles of* Virtue *and* Religion *in the Minds of the* Youth *of* both Sexes.
A Narrative which has its Foundation in Truth *and* Nature; *and at the ſame time that it agreeably entertains, by a Variety of* curious *and* affecting INCIDENTS, *is intirely diveſted of all thoſe Images, which, in too many Pieces, calculated for Amuſement only, tend to* inflame *the Minds they ſhould* inſtruct. Price 6 s.

III. A Preſervative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood and Youth, *written by way of Queſtion and Anſwer. To which are added, ſome Religious and Moral Inſtructions, in Verſe.* By I. Watts, D. D. Price 8 d.

ADVERTISEMENT OF "PAMELA."
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Apparently in this he was not disappointed, and nine years later he published a second translation of Logan's, believing "it to be in itself equal at least, if not far preferable to any other Translation of the same Piece extant in our Language," which he printed

> "In a large and fair Character, that those who begin to think on the Subject of OLD-AGE, (which seldom happens till their Sight is somewhat impair'd by its Approaches) may not, in Reading, by the *Pain* small Letters give the Eyes, feel the *Pleasure* of the Mind in the least allayed."

David Hall

SIGNATURE OF FRANKLIN'S PARTNER.

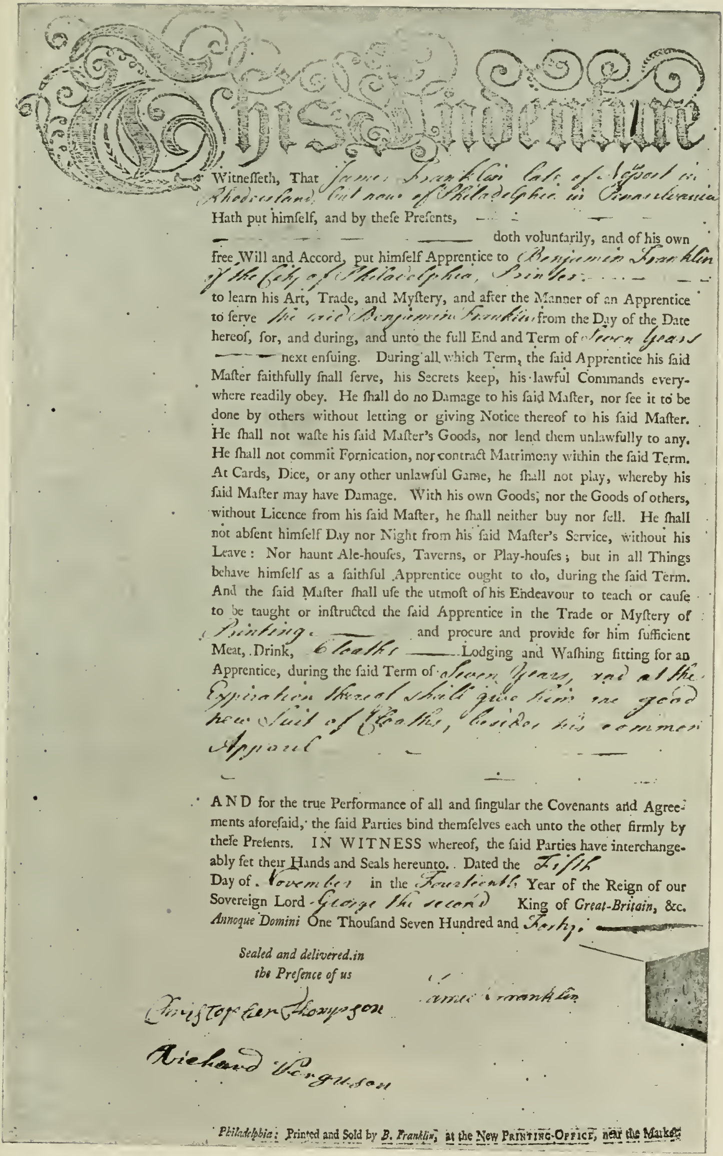
This particular book Franklin always considered the finest product of his press, and so proud was he of it that he sent five hundred copies to London, where they were put into the hands of Mr. Becket for sale—without much profit, as it would appear, for nearly forty years later Franklin wrote to ask if he could obtain a copy, and casually mentioned that he "never had an account of their being sold." His greatest publishing success, "Poor Richard's Almanac," and his greatest publishing failure, the "General Magazine," are treated elsewhere. In all these new departures Franklin was something more than the mere printer, and he offered Colden to print "your piece on gravitation" "at my own expense and risk," adding:

"If I can be the means of communicating any thing valuable to the world, I do not always think of gaining, nor even of saving, by my business; but a piece of that kind, as it must excite the curiosity of all the learned, can hardly fail of bearing its own expense."

A Scotch journeyman, David Hall, whom Franklin took into his employment in 1743, was admitted to a partnership five years later. He "took off my hands all care of the printing office, paying me punctually my share of the profits"; and Franklin, in congratulating a friend on a "return to your beloved retirement," wrote with evident pleasure that he, too, was "taking the proper measures for obtaining leisure to enjoy life and my friends more than hitherto, having put my printing-house under the care of my partner, David Hall, absolutely left off bookselling and removed to a more quiet part of the town, where I am settling my old accounts, and hope soon to be quite master of my own time." "This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both," at the end of which time Hall became the purchaser of the outfit.

This did not mean that Franklin wholly retired from his connection with printing, for long before this he had established a number of printing-offices in other towns. For instance, in 1733 "I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnish'd him with a press and letters, on the agreement of partnership by which I was to receive one third of the profits of the business, paying one third of the expense." The partnership in Carolina having succeeded, "I was encourag'd to engage in others and to promote several of my workmen who had behaved well by establishing them with printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms as that in Carolina." One of these was James Parker, whom he established in New York, and by 1743 he had " three printing-houses in three different colonies, and purpose to set up a fourth if I can meet with a proper person to manage it, having all the materials ready for that purpose." Five years later he sent an outfit to Antigua, in the West Indies, under the charge of a journeyman who had " worked with me here and in my printing-house in New York three or four years." He was also interested in a printing-office in Kingston, Jamaica, and, as already noted, he took two of his nephews as apprentices, and when they were trained helped them to establish themselves as printers. " Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels; but I was happy in this that mine were all carried on and ended amicably."

Nor did his retirement from active printing lessen his interest in his trade, and every possible improvement in the art received attention from him. In 1753, for instance, he suggested that his London agent should " persuade your press-maker to go out of his road a little" in making a press, in order to include certain improvements that Franklin had invented, since with these it " never gravels; the hollow face of the ribs keeps the oil better, and the cramps, bearing on the larger surface, do not wear, as in the common method.



This Indenture

Witneſſeth, That James Franklin late of Newport in Rhodeisland, but now of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania Hath put himſelf, and by theſe Preſents, doth voluntarily, and of his own free Will and Accord, put himſelf Apprentice to Benjamin Franklin of the City of Philadelphia, Printer to learn his Art, Trade, and Myſtery, and after the Manner of an Apprentice to ſerve the said Benjamin Franklin from the Day of the Date hereof, for, and during, and unto the full End and Term of Seven Years next enſuing. During all which Term, the ſaid Apprentice his ſaid Maſter faithfully ſhall ſerve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every-where readily obey. He ſhall do no Damage to his ſaid Maſter, nor ſee it to be done by others without letting or giving Notice thereof to his ſaid Maſter. He ſhall not waſte his ſaid Maſter's Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He ſhall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the ſaid Term. At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, he ſhall not play, whereby his ſaid Maſter may have Damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from his ſaid Maſter, he ſhall neither buy nor ſell. He ſhall not abſent himſelf Day nor Night from his ſaid Maſter's Service, without his Leave: Nor haunt Ale-houſes, Taverns, or Play-houſes; but in all Things behave himſelf as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the ſaid Term. And the ſaid Maſter ſhall uſe the utmoſt of his Endeavour to teach or cauſe to be taught or inſtructed the ſaid Apprentice in the Trade or Myſtery of Printing. and procure and provide for him ſufficient Meat, Drink, Cloaths Lodging and Waſhing fitting for an Apprentice, during the ſaid Term of Seven Years, and at the Expiration thereof shall give him one good new Suit of Cloaths, besides his common Apparel

AND for the true Performance of all and ſingular the Covenants and Agreements aforeſaid, the ſaid Parties bind themſelves each unto the other firmly by theſe Preſents. IN WITNESS whereof, the ſaid Parties have interchangeably ſet their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the Fifth Day of November in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second King of *Great-Britain*, &c. *Annoque Domini* One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Forty.

Sealed and delivered in
the Preſence of us

James Franklin

Christopher Thompson

Richard Verguson

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by *B. Franklin*, at the New Printing-Office, near the Market.

INDENTURE OF JAMES FRANKLIN TO HIS UNCLE BENJAMIN.
Original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Of this I have had many years experience." When Cadwallader Colden conceived the idea of stereotyping, and wrote to Franklin about it, the new invention received his prompt attention, he conducted a series of experiments designed to test its value, and it is supposed that he communicated the idea to Didot when in France.

On a somewhat kindred subject he wrote to John Walter, who afterward became famous as a founder of the London "Times," that he had read his "Introduction to Logography," which he thought "extremely ingenious"; and "I like much the idea of cementing the letters instead of casting words of syllables, which I formerly attempted and succeeded in having invented a mould and method by which I could in a few minutes form a matrice, adjust it to any word in any font at pleasure and proceed to cast from it." Though this scheme of Walter's proved a failure, it was another step toward the modern system of stereotyping.

As the printer was interested in shortening the processes of composition, so he was interested in typography, and a friendship that he quickly formed in England was with John Baskerville, the famous type-maker. When a critic told Franklin that the founder's letters "would be the means of blinding all the readers in the nation," Franklin endeavored, without success, to "support your character against the charge" by argument. Not succeeding in this, when the fault-finder again called upon him,

"Mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham, saying, I had been examining it, since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me. He readily undertook it, and went over the several fonts, showing me everywhere what he thought instances of that disproportion, and declared that he could not then read the specimen without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me. I spared him that

Mr. Jno. Baskerville,

of Plymouth.

> time the confusion of being told that these were the types he had been reading all his life with so much ease to his eyes, the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with (for he is himself an author), and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours."

Furthermore, Franklin endeavored to get him orders from America by distributing specimens of his "letters" among printers.

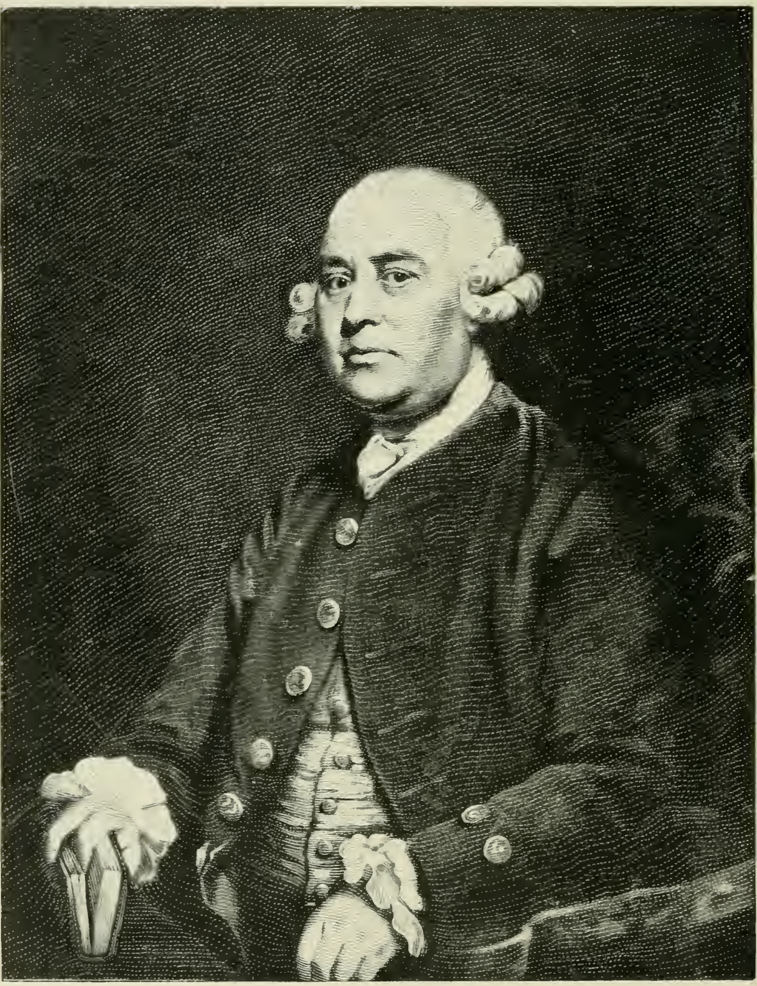
Interest in good type meant interest in good printing, and Franklin followed the improvements in books with closeness. While minister in France, he noted that

> "A strong emulation exists at present between Paris and Madrid, with regard to beautiful printing. Here a M. Didot *l'aine* has a passion for the art, and besides having procured the best types, he has much improved the press. The utmost care is taken of his presswork; his ink is black, and his paper fine and white. He has executed several charming editions. But the 'Sallust' and the 'Don Quixote' of Madrid are thought to excel them. Didot, however, improves every day, and by his zeal and indefatigable application bids fair to carry the art to a high pitch of perfection. I will send you a sample of his work when I have an opportunity."

Franklin was not, however, too much of a printer ever to forget the reader, and in the last years of his life he made some criticisms on his craft which are as true to-day as when he wrote them. "By a fancy of printers," he complained, they have "suppressed the capitalizing of all substantives," with the idea of showing the "character to greater advantage; those letters prominent above the line disturbing its even, regular appearance," which he very properly remarked was "a gain in appearance at the expense of the reader"; and any one who has read eighteenth-century books before "the invention of that pretended improvement" had been made will agree with him. Furthermore,

> "From fondness for an even and uniform appearance of characters in the line, the printers have of late banished also the italic types, in which words of importance to be attended to in the sense of the sentence, and words on which an emphasis should be put in reading, used to be printed. And lately another fancy has induced some printers to use the short round *s*, instead of the long one, which formerly served well to distinguish a word readily by its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent letter makes the line appear more even, but renders it less immediately legible; as the paring all men's noses might smooth and level their faces, but would render their physiognomies less distinguishable.
>
> "Add to all these improvements *backwards*, another modern fancy, that gray printing is more beautiful than black; hence the English new books are printed in so dim a character as to be read with difficulty by old eyes, unless in a very strong light and with good glasses. Whoever compares a volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, printed between the years 1731 and 1740, with one of those printed in the last ten years, will be convinced of the much greater degree of perspicuity given by black ink than by gray. Lord Chesterfield pleasantly remarked this difference to Faulkener, the printer of the Dublin *Journal*, who was vainly making encomiums on his own paper, as the most complete of any in the world. 'But, Mr. Faulkener,' said my Lord, 'don't you think it might be still farther improved by using paper and ink not quite so near of a color?' For all these reasons I cannot but wish that our American printers would, in their editions, avoid these fancied improvements, and thereby render their works more agreeable to foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our bookselling commerce."

He was equally severe on another book-making fault of the time. "One can scarce see a new book," he



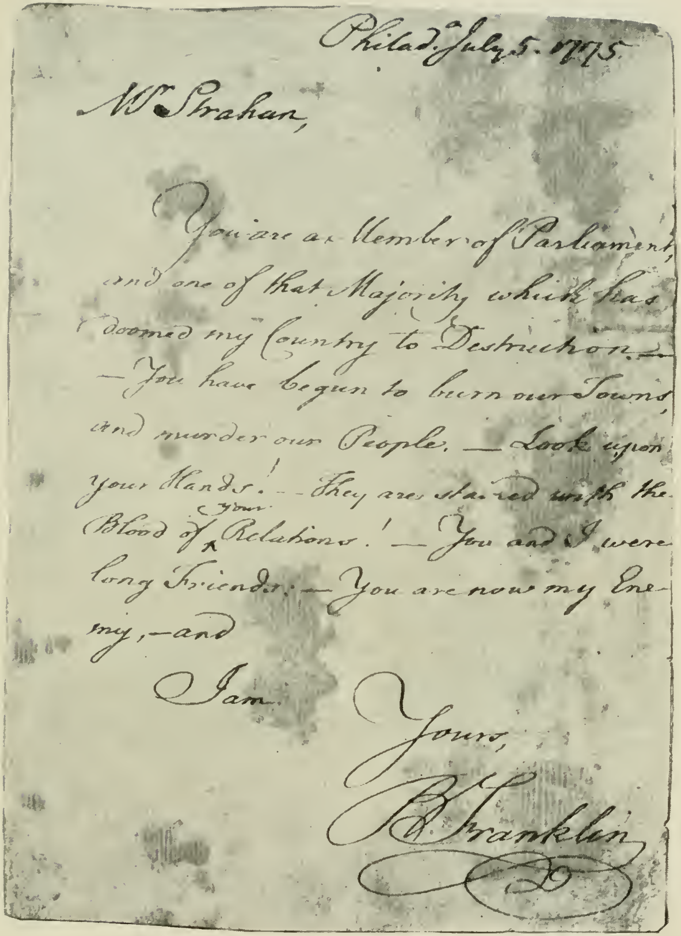
WILLIAM STRAHAN.

After the portrait in the possession of Clarence W. Bement.

wrote, "without observing the excessive artifices made use of to puff up a paper of verses into a pamphlet, a pamphlet into an octavo, and an octavo into a quarto, with scab-boardings, whitelines, sparse titles of chapters, and exorbitant margins, to such a degree that the selling of paper seems now the object, and printing on it only the pretence. I enclose the copy of a page in a late comedy. Between every two lines there is a white space equal to another line. You have a law, I think, against butchers blowing veal to make it look fatter? why not one against booksellers blowing books to make them look bigger?"

Franklin always credited his knowledge of good book-making to his experience in Watts's printing-house, and it is stated that "at every entertainment which he gave his workmen during the life of Watts the health of his old friend and master was one of the toasts." When, too, he went to England in 1757 as agent for his colony, one of the first things he did was to seek out his old employer; and it is related that with him he went to the composing-room where he had formerly worked, voluntarily contributed the *bienvenu*, or sum for drink, he had once so persistently refused, and proposed the toast "Success to Printing."

A London printer with whom an even greater friendship existed was William Strahan. The acquaintance started merely as a business connection in 1743, but with Franklin's next visit to London it quickly became a personal one, and ripened to such a degree that the two men agreed upon a marriage between their children. Strahan used his utmost influence to get Franklin to settle in England permanently, not merely proposing "several advantageous schemes to me," but writing urgently to his wife. In time Strahan became printer to the king, and eventually was elected to Parliament. In this body he was an adherent of the government, voting for most of the measures of which America complained, and this drew from Franklin the letter which has become so famous, written in a moment of bitterness upon hearing of the battle of Bunker Hill, but which expressed merely the moment's heat, and so was never sent to his friend. Even through the Revolution a frank and affectionate correspondence was maintained, differ as they might in opinion, and a satiric description Franklin gave of the condition of England at the end of the war is well worthy of quotation. Alluding to the general scramble there for office or money, he said: "To speak in our old style (brother type)," these "may be good for the *chapel*, but they are bad for the master, as they create constant quarrels that hinder the business. For example, here are two months that your government has been employed in *getting its form to press;* which is not yet fit to *work on*, every page of it being *squabbled*, and the whole ready to fall into *pi*. The fonts, too, must be very scanty, or strangely *out of sorts*, since your *compositors* cannot find either *upper* or *lower case letters* sufficient to set the word ADMINISTRATION, but are forced to be continually *turning for them*. However, to return to common (though perhaps too saucy) language, do not despair; you have still one resource left, and that not a bad one, since it may reunite the empire. We have some re-



Philada. July 5. 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. — You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy, — and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin

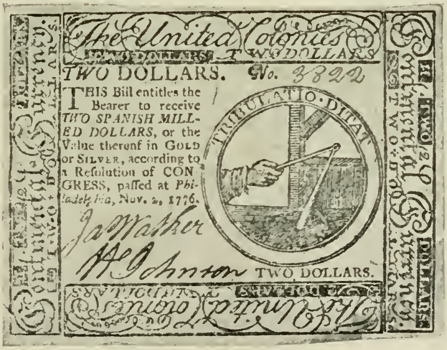
A LETTER WRITTEN, BUT NEVER SENT, BY FRANKLIN TO STRAHAN.
Original in the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

mains of affection for you, and shall always be ready to receive and take care of you in case of distress. So if you have not sense and virtue enough to govern yourselves, e'en dissolve your present old crazy constitution, and send members to Congress." With even greater cleverness of metaphor, Franklin later told him:

> "I remember your observing once to me as we sat together in the House of Commons, that no two journeymen printers within your knowledge had met with such success in the world as ourselves. You were then at the head of your profession, and soon afterwards became a member of Parliament. I was an agent for a few provinces, and now act for them all. But we have risen by different modes. I, as a republican printer, always liked a form well *planed down;* being averse to those *overbearing* letters that hold their heads so *high* as to hinder their neighbors from appearing. You, as a monarchist, chose to work upon *crown* paper, and found it profitable; while I worked upon *pro patria* (often indeed called *foolscap*) with no less advantage. Both our *heaps hold out* very well, and we seem likely to make a pretty good day's work of it. With regard to public affairs (to continue in the same style), it seems to me that the compositors in your chapel do not *cast off their copy* well, nor perfectly understand *imposing;* their *forms*, too, are continually pestered by the *outs* and *doubles*, that are not easy to be corrected. And I think they were wrong in laying aside some *faces*, and particularly certain *head-pieces*, that would have been both useful and ornamental."

Nothing proved better the printer's attachment for his calling than an amusement during his diplomatic service in France. In his own home he set up a press and types, all of which he or his servants cast, and with them occasionally printed little bagatelles and skits of both his friends' writing and his own, usually in very small editions. These "printing materials, consisting of a great variety of fonts," he brought with him on his return to America, and used them to establish his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, in "business as a printer, the original occupation of his grandfather," explaining to a friend: "I am too old to follow printing again myself, but, loving the business, I have brought up my grandson Benjamin to it, and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye."

Despite the many honors that had come to him, to the last he held himself to be first and foremost a printer, and began his will, "I, Benjamin Franklin, Printer, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, and now President of the State of Pennsylvania." It was at his own request that "the Printers of the city, with their Journeymen and Apprentices," were given a prominent position in his funeral procession.



THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive TWO SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in GOLD or SILVER, according to a Resolution of CONGRESS, paſſed at Philadelphia, Nov. 2, 1776.

CONTINENTAL PAPER MONEY DESIGNED BY FRANKLIN.

FRANKLIN SEAL.

VI

WRITER AND JOURNALIST

FRANKLIN'S grandfather on the maternal side, and his uncle, were both confirmed scribblers of rhyme, and therefore it was seemingly preordained by heritage and by example that he should write. At seven years of age the boy sent a poem to his uncle Benjamin, and the recipient wrote back:

"'T is time for me to throw aside my pen,
When hanging sleeves read, write, and rhyme like men.
This forward spring foretells a plenteous crop;
For, if the bud bear grain, what will the top!

. . . .

If first years' shoots such noble clusters send,
What laden boughs, Engedi-like, may we expect in the end!"

He was thirteen years of age, and a printer's apprentice, before any further evidence of his writing is to be found, and his ambition was still to be a rhymester. "I now took a fancy to write poetry, and made some little pieces," he relates in his autobiography; and his printer-brother, "thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called 'The Lighthouse Tragedy,' and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of Teach (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub-street-ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them." Recently what is supposed to be the original of his poem on Teach has been unearthed, and a stanza deserves quotation, as an example of his earliest writing now extant:

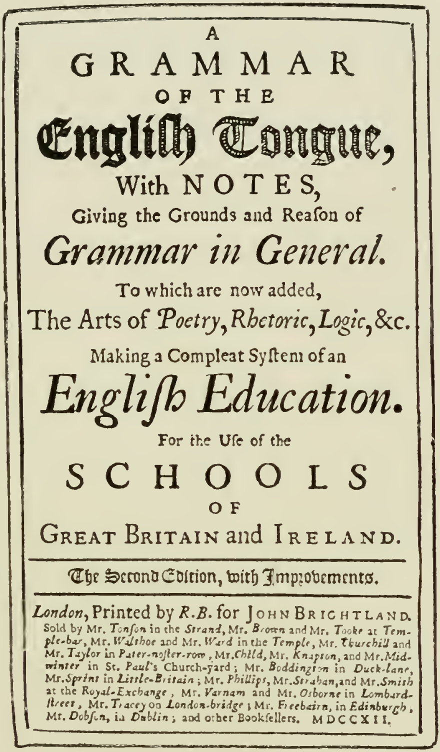
> "Will you hear of a bloody Battle,
> Lately fought upon the Seas,
> It will make your Ears to rattle,
> And your Admiration cease;
> Have you heard of *Teach* the Rover,
> And his Knavery on the Main;
> How of Gold he was a Lover,
> How he lov'd all ill got Gain."

Whatever their merit, Franklin scored a success in his first essay in letters. The ballads sold well, one, in fact, "wonderfully," which "flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one."

Laughed out of poetry, the lad turned to prose, and here again his father's criticism influenced him. Having engaged in an argument on " the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study," with a friend, who " was naturally more eloquent" and " had a ready plenty of words," Franklin was worsted, so he thought, " more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons." Accordingly, " I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters of a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the discussion, he took occasion to talk to me about the manner of my writing; observed that, though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which I ow'd to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to the manner in writing, and determined to endeavor at improvement."

> " About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. . . . I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to compleat the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found that I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continued occasion for words of the same import, but of different

length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind,



A
GRAMMAR
OF THE
Engliſh Tongue,
With NOTES,
Giving the Grounds and Reaſon of
Grammar in General.
To which are now added,
The Arts of *Poetry*, *Rhetoric*, *Logic*, &c.
Making a Compleat Syſtem of an
Engliſh Education.
For the Uſe of the
SCHOOLS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

The Second Edition, with Improvements.

London, Printed by *R.B.* for JOHN BRIGHTLAND.
Sold by Mr. *Tonſon* in the *Strand*, Mr. *Brown* and Mr. *Tooke* at *Temple-bar*, Mr. *Walthoe* and Mr. *Ward* in the *Temple*, Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Taylor* in *Pater-noſter-row*, Mr. *Child*, Mr. *Knapton*, and Mr. *Midwinter* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; Mr. *Boddington* in *Duck-lane*, Mr. *Sprint* in *Little-Britain*; Mr. *Phillips*, Mr. *Strahan*, and Mr. *Smith* at the *Royal-Exchange*, Mr. *Varnam* and Mr. *Osborne* in *Lombard-ſtreet*, Mr. *Tracey* on *London-bridge*; Mr. *Freebairn*, in *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Dobſon*, in *Dublin*; and other Bookſellers. MDCCXII.

THE GRAMMAR FROM WHICH FRANKLIN LEARNED ENGLISH.

and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collection of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and compleat the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extreamly ambitious. My time for these exercises and for reading was at night, after work or before it began in the morning, or on Sundays, when I contrived to be in the printing-house alone."

It was undoubtedly this admiration for the "Spectator" which inspired his next contributions to literature, for it is from that series clearly that the young author took his model. On a March night in the year 1722, or when the lad was sixteen years of age, he slipped a paper under the door of what James Franklin advertised as his "Printing-House over against Mr. Sheaf's School, near the Prison," and then stole away. The next day, as the apprentice stood at his type-case, he could hear his brother consulting with the "ingenious men among his friends, who amus'd themselves by writing little pieces" for the paper, as to who could be the author of the sheets with the humble signature of "Silence Dogood," and it is easy to imagine his pride when he heard the essay praised by them; when the piece appeared in all the glory of type in the "New England Courant," and when his eye met the notice in the same issue that "As the favour of Mrs. Dogood's Correspondence is acknowledged by the Publisher of this Paper, lest any of her Letters should miscarry, he desires they may be deliver'd at his Printing-Office, or at the Blue Balls in Union street, and no questions will be ask'd of the Bearer."

In the piece thus printed Mrs. Dogood introduced herself to her readers in due form, and announced that she "intends once a Fortnight to present them, by the Help of this Paper, with a short Epistle, which I presume will add somewhat to their Entertainment"; and she was as good as her word, for to the number of fourteen letters the pseudo-widow gossips on female training and vices, pride, college learning, hypocrites, widows, match-makers, religion, drinking, etc., until "my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well exhausted," when, unable longer to contain the secret, "I discovered it." This made the lad "considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance," which did not "quite please him, as he thought, probably with reason, that it tended to make me too vain." Very quickly, as already recounted, the anonymous contributor was acting as both publisher and editor of the "Courant," and in these capacities he seems to have satisfied James Franklin better, for, while the last-named was in prison, "I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly." He was at this time barely seventeen, and thus presumptively the youngest American editor.

The wandering life of the runaway apprentice gave slight opportunity for the cultivation of his pen-talent, and, save for his little "wicked tract," the succeeding years were lean ones in production. But once Franklin was established in Philadelphia as a printer, the tendency to write redeveloped, and proved of real service to him. In the first year of the new firm he wrote a little pamphlet on a local question, entitled "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency," and the opposition "happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it," the party in favor of an issue of paper money carried their point in the Assembly. "My friends there, who conceiv'd that I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable jobb and a great help to me. This was another advantage gain'd by my being able to write."

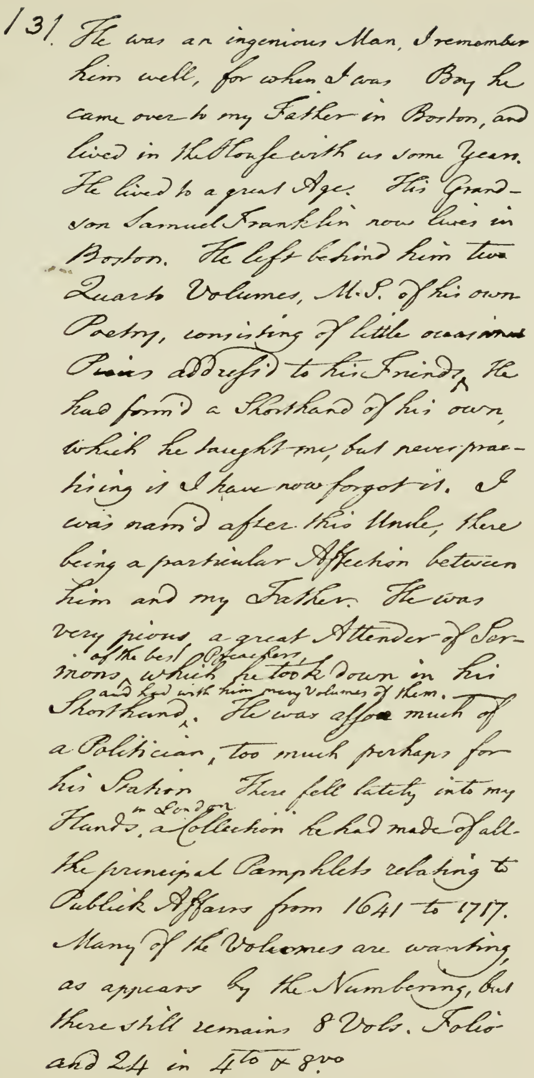
Once again within this first year Franklin's ability to use his pen was to profit him. When Keimer stole his project of a newspaper, and forestalled him, in resentment the would-be editor "wrote several pieces of entertainment for Bradford's paper." This latter, according to Franklin, had hitherto been "a paltry thing, wretchedly manag'd, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable"; but now, thanks to the letters of the "Busy Body," which were much in the same style as those of Mrs. Dogood, "the attention of the publick was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which were burlesqu'd and ridicul'd, were disregarded." The new paper languished, and within a year, as already told, was purchased by Franklin.

Mr. Keimer, by way of filling his columns rather than of entertaining his readers, had begun reprinting Chambers's "great" Cyclopædia and De Foe's "Religious Courtship," but Franklin was too instinctively a journalist to continue such padding. The first, he told his subscribers in his inaugural, contained too "many Things abstruse and insignificant," and, moreover, would take perhaps ten years to finish. As for the second, it would shortly be printed in book form, and at the service of "those who approve it." His paper thus cleared of uncurrent and stale matter, the new editor set about filling it with news that should be both interesting and timely. "Our Country Correspondents," the "Gazette" requested, "are desired to acquaint us, as soon as they can conveniently, with every remarkable Accident, Occurrence, &c. fit for publick Notice, that may happen within their Knowledge; in Order to make this Paper more universally intelligent." Having made his appeal for local events, Franklin spread a broader drag-net, and the paper assured its patrons that "The Publishers of this Paper meeting with considerable Encouragement, are determined to continue it; and to that End have taken Measures to settle a general Correspondence, and procure the best and earliest Intelligence from all Parts. We shall from time to time have all the noted Publick Prints from *Great Britain*, *New-England*, *New-York*, *Maryland* and *Jamaica*, besides what News may be collected from private Letters and Informations; and we doubt not of continuing to give our Customers all the Satisfaction they expect from a Performance of this Nature." Try as Franklin might to make his paper a good news-sheet, it was not always easy, and occasionally the "Gazette" gives voice to the editorial difficulties. One issue, for instance, informed its readers:

"After a long Dearth of News, we have, by the late Ships, received English Papers to the 12th of November. The

War, tho' it creates a more general Appetite for News, does, we find, in this distant Part of the World, very much disconcert us News Writers. During the Peace, Ships were constantly dropping in at some Port or other of this Continent, and we had fresh Advices almost every Week from Europe; but now, by their waiting for Convoy, and other Hindrances and Delays, we are sometimes Months without having a Syllable. The Consequence is, that a Series of News Papers come to hand in a Lump together; and being each of us ambitious to give our Readers the freshest Intelligence, we croud all the latest Events into our First Paper, and are obliged to fill up the Succeeding Ones with Articles of prior Date, or else omit them entirely, as being anticipated and stale, and entertain you with Matters of another Nature. Hence the Chain of Occurrences is broken or inverted, and much of the News rendered thereby unintelligible. Hence you have tedious Accounts of the raising of Armies, the Motion of Fleets, or the Siege of Cities, after you have been some Weeks acquainted with the taking of those Cities, and the beating of those Fleets and Armies; or perhaps you are never told at all by what Steps those great Events were brought about. Such a confused Method must make any Writings of a historical Nature less entertaining and instructive to the intelligent Reader. We purpose therefore to avoid it for the future in this Paper, as much as may be, and doubt not, but that for the sake of a clear and regular Account of the Affairs of Europe, our Readers will excuse us if we happen now and then to be a Week or two later than others with some particular Articles."

Measured by its contemporaries, there is no doubt that Franklin succeeded in making the "Gazette" a newspaper. Thefts, murders, rapes, etc., were described with a detail which might be termed modern, but for this very example that the new journalism is not new. Real pains were taken to chronicle local events, and though the results seem meager, it was far better done than by its rivals, and nothing proved this more than the fact



131. He was an ingenious Man. I remember him well, for when I was Boy he came over to my Father in Boston, and lived in the House with us some Years. He lived to a great Age. His Grandson Samuel Franklin now lives in Boston. He left behind him two Quarto Volumes, M.S. of his own Poetry, consisting of little occasional Pieces addreſs'd to his Friends, He had form'd a Shorthand of his own, which he taught me, but never practising it I have now forgot it. I was nam'd after this Uncle, there being a particular Affection between him and my Father. He was very pious, a great Attender of Sermons of the best Preachers, which he took down in his Shorthand and had with him many Volumes of them. He was alſo much of a Politician, too much perhaps for his Station. There fell lately into my Hands in London a Collection he had made of all the principal Pamphlets relating to Publick Affairs from 1641 to 1717. Many of the Volumes are wanting, as appears by the Numbering, but there still remains 8 Vols. Folio and 24 in 4to & 8vo

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

By courtesy of the owner, Hon. John Bigelow.

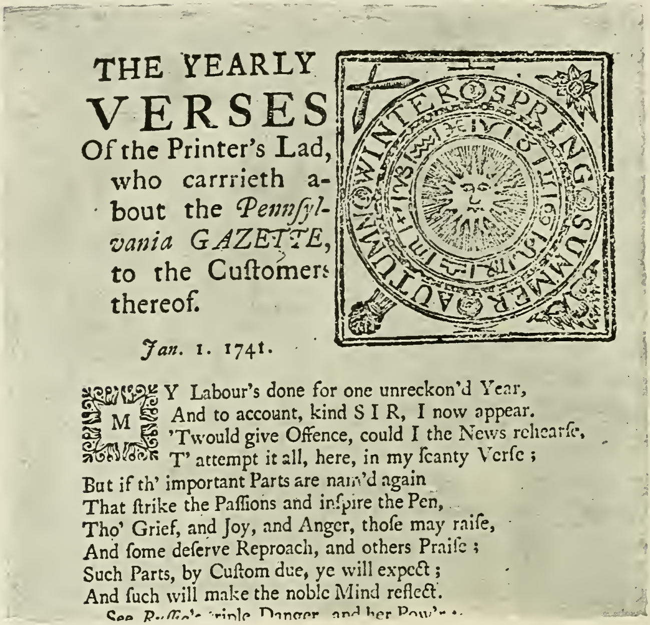
that they stole from its columns. "When Mr. Bradford publishes after us," the "Gazette" told one plagiary, "and has Occasion to take an Article or two out of the Gazette, which he is always welcome to do, he is desired not to date his Paper a Day before ours, (as last Week in the Case of the Letter containing Kelsey's Speech, &c.) lest distant Readers should imagine we take from him, which we always carefully avoid." Nor was this the only amusement Franklin made out of his rival's columns, and one of his jokes was peculiarly typical. "As you sometimes take upon you to correct the Publick," he made a pretended correspondent, "Memory," write to his paper, "you ought in your Turn patiently to receive publick Correction. My Quarrel against you is, your Practice of publishing under the Notion of News, old Transactions which I suppose you hope we have forgot. For Instance, in your Numb. 669, you tell us from London of July 20, That the Losses of our Merchants are laid before the Congress of Soissons, by Mr. Stanhope &c. and that Admiral Hopson died the 8th of May last. Whereas 't is certain, there has been no Congress at Soissons nor any where else these three Years at least; nor could Admiral Hopson possibly die in May last, unless he has made a Resurrection since his Death in 1728. And in your Numb. 670., among other Articles of equal Antiquity, you tell us a long Story of a Murder and Robbery perpetrated on the Person of Mr. Nath. Bostock, which I have read Word for Word not less than four Years since in your own Paper. Are these your freshest Advices foreign and domestick? I insist that you insert this in your next, and let us see how you justify yourself." Still affecting to treat the matter seriously, Franklin replied:

> "I need not say more in Vindication of my self against this Charge, than that the Letter is evidently wrong directed, and should have been To the Publisher of the Mercury: Inasmuch as the Numb. of my Paper is not yet amounted to 669, nor are those old Articles any where to be found in the Gazette, but in the Mercury of the two last Weeks."

These girds bespoke strained relations with his fellow-editor, and there was little love lost between them. The Bradfords charged upon one occasion that Franklin had been awarded the printing of the New Jersey colony money for a higher sum than was asked by another printer, and added: "Its no matter, its the Country's Money, and if the Publick cannot afford to pay well, who can? Its proper to serve a Friend when there is an opportunity." There were other charges, too, of one sort and another, and countercharges in the "Gazette," with the advantage generally in Franklin's favor, but which did little credit to either of the disputants. Later in life Franklin came to realize this fact, for from Paris he wrote of American journalism to a friend:

> "You do well to avoid being concerned in the pieces of personal abuse, so scandalously common in our newspapers that I am afraid to lend any of them here until I have examined and laid aside such as would disgrace us, and subject us among strangers to a reflection like that used by a gentleman in a coffee-house to two quarrellers, who, after a mutually free use of the words, *rogue*, *villain*, *rascal*, *scoundrel*, etc., seemed as if they would refer their dispute to him: 'I know nothing of you, or your affairs,' said he; 'I only perceive *that you know one another*.'
>
> "The conductor of a newspaper should, methinks, consider

himself as in some degree the guardian of his country's reputation, and refuse to insert such writing as may hurt it. If people will print their abuses of one another, let them do it in little pamphlets, and distribute them where they think proper. It is absurd to trouble all the world with them; and unjust to subscribers in distant places, to stuff their paper with matters so unprofitable, and so disagreeable."



THE YEARLY
VERSES
Of the Printer's Lad,
who carrrieth a-
bout the *Pennſyl-*
vania GAZETTE,
to the Cuſtomers
thereof.

Jan. 1. 1741.

MY Labour's done for one unreckon'd Year,
And to account, kind SIR, I now appear.
'Twould give Offence, could I the News rehearſe,
T' attempt it all, here, in my ſcanty Verſe;
But if th' important Parts are nam'd again
That ſtrike the Paſſions and inſpire the Pen,
Tho' Grief, and Joy, and Anger, thoſe may raiſe,
And ſome deſerve Reproach, and others Praiſe;
Such Parts, by Cuſtom due, ye will expect;
And ſuch will make the noble Mind reflect.

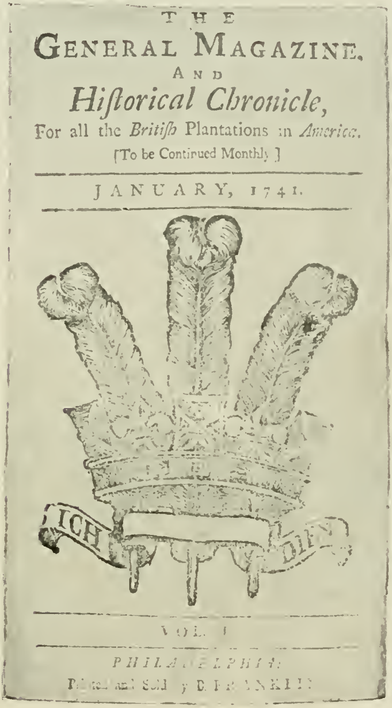
YEARLY VERSES OF PRINTER'S LAD OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE."
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Even more severe was his ironical "Account of the Supremest Court of Judicature in Pennsylvania, Viz.

The Court of the Press." This court, he wrote, "may receive and promulgate accusations of all kinds against all persons and characters . . . with or without inquiry or hearing *at the courts' discretion*." It is established for the benefit of "about one citizen in five hundred, who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a press, a few types and a huge pair of BLACKING balls," and who, if you make the least complaint of his conduct, "daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you; and, besides tearing your private character to flitters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an *enemy to the liberty of the press*." This five-hundredth part of the citizens have the privilege of accusing and abusing the other four hundred and ninety-nine parts at their pleasure. In practice this court "is not governed by any of the rules of common courts of law. The accused is allowed no grand jury, . . . nor is the name of the accuser made known to him, nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witnesses against him, . . . nor is there any petty jury of his peers." Its "privileges flow from what is termed the liberty of the press," which Franklin deemed to be akin to "the *liberty of the press* that felons have, by the common law of England, before conviction, that is, to be *pressed* to death or hanged"; and he argues that if this so-called liberty consists in the power of "affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myself willing to part with my share of it whenever our legislators shall please so to alter the law, and shall cheerfully consent to exchange my *liberty* of abusing others for the *privilege* of not being abused myself." Failing this, "My proposal then is, to leave the liberty of the press untouched, to be exercised in its full extent, force, and vigor; but to permit the *liberty of the cudgel* to go with it *pari passu.* Thus, my fellow-citizens, if the impudent writer attacks your reputation, dearer to you perhaps than your life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him as openly and break his head. If he conceals himself behind the printer, and you can nevertheless discover who he is, you may in like manner waylay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. Thus far goes my project as to *private* resentment and retribution. But if the public should ever happen to be affronted, *as it ought to be*, with the conduct of such writers, I would not advise proceeding immediately to these extremities; but that we should in moderation content ourselves with tarring and feathering, and tossing them in a blanket.

"If, however, it should be thought that this proposal of mine may disturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legislators to take up the consideration of both liberties, that of the *press*, and that of the *cudgel*, and by an explicit law mark their extent and limits; and, at the same time that they secure the person of a citizen from *assaults*, they would likewise provide for the security of his *reputation*."

Long after Franklin had severed his interest in his own paper, he took pride that "I lately heard a remark, that on examination of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for fifty years, from its commencement, it appeared that during that long period scarce one libellous piece had ever appeared in it. This generally chaste conduct . . . is much to its reputation; for it has long been the opinion of sober, judicious people, that nothing is more likely to endanger the liberty of the press than the abuse of that liberty by employing it in personal accusation, detraction, and calumny. The excesses some of our papers have been guilty of in this particular have set this State in a bad light abroad, . . . for I have seen a European newspaper, in which the editor, who had been charged with frequently calumniating the Americans, justifies himself by saying, ‘that he had published nothing disgraceful to us which he had not taken from our own printed papers.’”



THE
GENERAL MAGAZINE,
AND
Hiſtorical Chronicle,
For all the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America.*
[To be Continued Monthly.]

JANUARY, 1741.

VOL. I

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN

Franklin’s share in the “Gazette” was far more than gathering news. The editorial was a yet unknown feature of journalism, but he often added to his items little comments or explanations. When there was an empty column, he wrote an essay, letter, poem, or anything else to fill it. Forestalling modern journalism, he asked a question, and then proceeded to answer it at length. So, too, he propounded "questions in casuistry," and riddles, to his readers, and for one of the latter he offered that:

> "Who in good Verse explains me clear
> Shall have this Gazette, free, one year."

Finally, he composed the annual "carrier's address" that ushered in each new year.

Having made a success of his newspaper, the editor's ambition expanded, and he conceived the scheme of establishing a magazine. Imprudently, he confided the idea to a friend before he was quite ready to begin, and, as with his project of a newspaper, another publisher heard of the plan, and hastened to issue a prospectus of just such a periodical. Instead of letting this interfere, Franklin, while charging a breach of confidence, continued his preparations, and after a war of words in the press between the two editors, the controversy settled into a race as to which magazine should first appear. On February 13, 1741, "The American Magazine" was issued, and on the 16th "The General Magazine" was for sale, Franklin thus losing, by three days, the honor of having edited and published the first monthly in America. Neither publication succeeded, the earliest in the field dying with its third number, with its publisher not far from bankruptcy, and the second, after a six months' struggle, ceased to appear, leaving nothing but a long account on the wrong side of the printer's ledger.

These years of editorship were busy ones for Franklin, and kept his quill too well employed to let it produce much besides what was required for his periodicals. From 1729 to 1757, the few pieces he wrote which did not appear in one of these publications were, with one exception noted elsewhere, wholly pamphlets of occasion, such as his "Proposals for Education" and his "Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital." But if he produced nothing that can be ranked as literature while his paper, magazine, and Almanac made such drafts on his time, his work in them was teaching him all there was to be learned of pen-craft. An inch of space, or a column, or a page needed to be filled: the printer left his type-case and wrote something of exactly the right length. It is to be questioned if any man of letters ever served so long and so difficult an apprenticeship as did Franklin in his almost forty years of editorial work, and there is small wonder that every year marked a gain to him in style and facility. When he took farewell of journalism, words had become to him a plastic medium which he could model to any shape his fancy chose. In a generation which considered Johnson's Latinized English as the acme of fine writing, he wrote a style which has scarcely been equaled for its combination of simplicity and clearness. "A Query" which he wrote gives his own standard:

> "How shall we judge of the goodness of a writing? Or what qualities should a writing have to be good and perfect in its kind?
>
> "*Answer.* To be good, it ought to have a tendency to benefit the reader, by improving his virtue or his knowledge.

But, not regarding the intention of the author, the method should be just; that is, it should proceed regularly from things known to things unknown, distinctly and clearly without confusion. The words used should be the most expressive that the language affords, provided that they are the most generally understood. Nothing should be expressed in two words that can be as well expressed in one; that is, no synonymes should be used, or very rarely, but the whole should be as short as possible, consistent with clearness; the words should be so placed as to be agreeable to the ear in reading; summarily, it should be *smooth*, *clear*, and *short*, for the contrary qualities are displeasing.

"But, taking the query otherwise, an ill man may write an ill thing well; that is, having an ill design, he may use the properest style and arguments (considering who are to be readers) to attain his ends. In this sense, that is best wrote, which is best adapted for obtaining the end of the writer."

Far more than a good style went to make up Franklin's success as a writer. Poor Richard had distinct literary ease; he was never at a loss for an aphorism, simile, or story to illustrate or strengthen an argument; could take another man's idea and improve upon it; could refute a whole argument by a dozen words scribbled in the margin, and imitate other and bygone styles of writing at will. On this facility he drew heavily as he stepped into public life, and some examples of his work will show at once his methods and his versatility.

In 1760 the colonists had reason to dread a termination of the French and Indian War before the British success had made certain the retention of Canada. Instead of keeping to traditional lines and repeating in a pamphlet or squib the arguments that had become by repetition both hackneyed and partizan, Franklin made his appeal in such a way as to avoid both.

"I met lately with an old quarto book on a stall," he wrote to the editor of the London "Chronicle," translated, so he goes on to tell, from the Spanish, and a certain chapter of this book is "so apropos to our present situation (only changing Spain for France) that I think it well worth general attention and observation, as it discovers the arts of our enemies, and may therefore help in some degree to put us on our guard against them." Having thus convinced the reader that whatever follows is untinctured by contemporary bias, he pretendedly transcribes from the book a chapter, "On the Means of Disposing the Enemie to Peace," and by putting every reason for ending the war into the mouth of an enemy of England, he successfully makes each of them seem inimical to that country. But this masterpiece of turning an opponent's own guns on him could only succeed if the hoax were well enough done to carry conviction of its genuineness to each reader. An excerpt will illustrate how far the writer was able to accomplish this:

> "Warres, with whatsoever Prudence undertaken, and conducted, do not always succeed. Many Thinges out of Man's Power to governe, such as Dearth of Provision, Tempests, Pestilence, and the like, oftentimes interfering and totally overthrowing the best Designes; so that those Enemies (England and Holland) of our Monarchy though apparently at first the weaker, may by disastrous Events of Warre, on our Parte, become the stronger, and though not in such degree as to endanger the Bodie of this great Kingdom, yet by their greater Power of Shipping and Aptness in Sea Affairs, to be able to cut off, if I may so speake, some of its smaller Limbs and Members that are remote therefrom and not easily defended, to wit, our Islands and Colonies in the Indies; thereby how-

ever depriving the Bodie of its wonted Nourishment, so that it must thenceforthe languish and grow weake, if those Parts are not recovered, which possibly may by continuance of Warre be found unlikelie to be done. And the Enemie, puffed up with their successes, and hoping still for more, may not be disposed to Peace on such Termes as would be suitable to the honor of your Majestie, and to the Welfare of your State and Subjects. In such Case, the following Meanes may have good Effect."

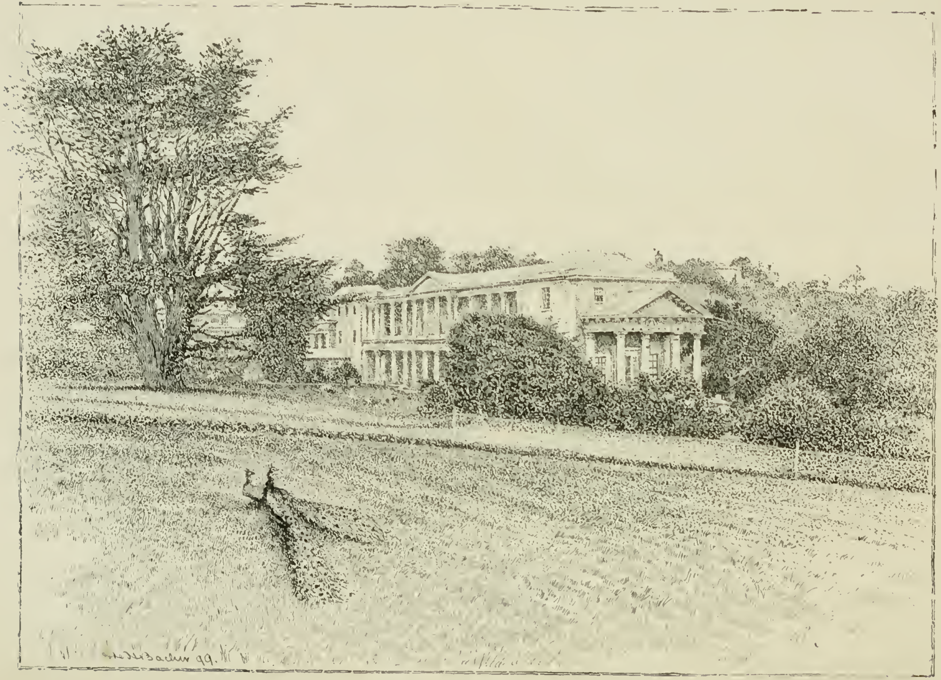
A still cleverer imposition was something he wrote in 1773. The stock argument of the English writers who maintained that Parliament possessed supreme authority over America was that the colonists, had they remained in Great Britain, would have been absolutely subject to its laws, and that emigration had not changed this condition. To show the utter absurdity of the claim, Franklin drafted what purported to be an edict of the Prussian king, which began in due form, "Frederic by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, etc, etc, etc.," and then continued:

"Whereas it is well known to all the world, that the first German settlements made in the Island of Britain, were by colonies of people, subject to our renowned ducal ancestors, and drawn from their dominions, under the conduct of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida, and others; and that the said colonies have flourished under the protection of our august house for ages past; have never been emancipated therefrom; and yet have hitherto yielded little profit to the same; and whereas we ourself have in the last war fought for and defended the said colonies, against the power of France, and thereby enabled them to make conquests from the said power in America, for which we have not yet received adequate compensation; and whereas it is just and expedient that a revenue should be raised from the said colonies in Britain, towards our indemnification; and that those who are descendants of our ancient subjects, and thence still owe us due obedience, should contribute to the replenishing of our royal coffers (as they must have done, had their ancestors remained in the territories now to us appertaining); we do therefore hereby ordain and command, that, from and after the date of these presents, there shall be levied and paid to our officers of the *customs*, on all goods, wares, and merchandises, and on all grain and other produce of the earth, exported from the said Island of Britain, and on all goods of whatever kind imported into the same, a duty of four and a half per cent *ad valorem*, for the use of us and our successors."

The edict, its author affirmed, was written in "out-of-the-way" form, as "most likely to take the general attention," and in this it was an entire success. It was printed in the "Public Advertiser," and Franklin wrote a friend that he could not send him one, because "though my clerk went the next morning to the printer's and wherever they were sold," the edition of the paper had been exhausted. In consequence, the piece was reprinted by request in a subsequent issue, and was generally reprinted in other papers and in the magazines. "I am not suspected as the author," the cozener told a correspondent, "except by one or two friends; and we have heard the latter spoken of in the highest terms, as the keenest and severest piece that has appeared here for a long time. Lord Mansfield, I hear, said of it, that it *was very* ABLE *and very* ARTFUL *indeed;* and would do mischief by giving here a bad impression of the measures of government; and in the colonies, by encouraging them in their contumacy. . . . What made it the more noticed here, was that people in reading it were, as the phrase is, *taken in*, till they had got half through it, and imagined it a real edict, to which mistake I suppose the king of Prussia's *character* must have contributed." Of this he relates an incident which must have delighted him:

> "I was down at Lord le Despencer's, when the post brought that day's papers. Mr. Whitehead was there, too, (Paul Whitehead, the author of 'Manners,') who runs early through all the papers, and tells the company what he finds remarkable. He had them in another room, and we were chatting in the breakfast parlor, when he came running in to us out of breath, with the paper in his hand. 'Here!' says he, 'here 's news for ye! Here 's the king of Prussia claiming a right to this kingdom!' All stared, and I as much as anybody; and he went on to read it. When he had read two or three paragraphs, a gentleman present said: 'Damn his impudence; I dare say we shall hear by next post, that he is upon his march with one hundred thousand men to back this.' Whitehead, who is very shrewd, soon after began to smoke it, and looking in my face, said, 'I 'll be hanged if this is not some of your American jokes upon us.' The reading went on, and ended with abundance of laughing, and a general verdict that it was a fair hit; and the piece was cut out of the paper and preserved in my Lord's collection."

Another incident which occurred at Lord Le Despenser's serves to show still another quality of his skill, as well as his facility with his pen. "Dr. Franklin told me," John Adams relates, "that before his return to America from England, in 1775, he was in company . . . with a number of English noblemen, when the conversation turned upon fables, those of Æsop, La Fontaine, Gay, Moore, &c., &c. Some one of the company observed that he thought the subject was exhausted. He did not believe that any man could now find an animal, beast, bird, or fish, that he could work



RESIDENCE OF LORD LE DESPENSER, WEST WYCOMBE.

into a new fable with any success; and the whole company appeared to applaud the idea, except Franklin, who was silent. The gentleman insisted on his opinion. He said, with submission to their lordships, he believed the subject was inexhaustible, and that many new and instructive fables might be made out of such materials. Can you think of any one at present? If your lordship will furnish me a pen, ink, and paper, I believe I can furnish your lordship with one in a few minutes. The paper was brought, and he sat down and wrote:

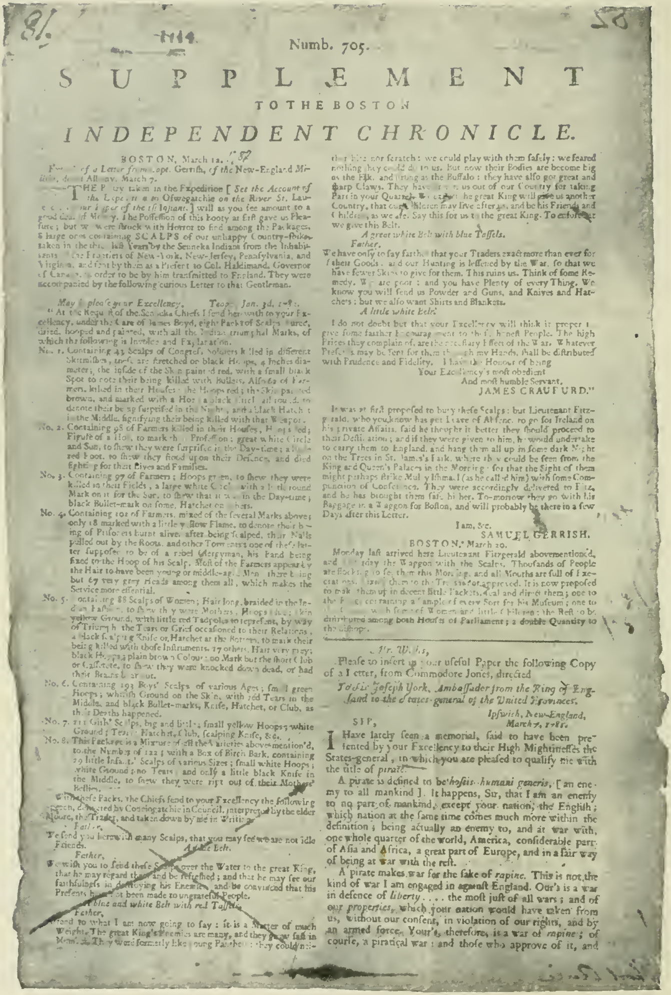
"'Once upon a time, an eagle scaling round a farmer's barn, and espying a hare, darted down upon him like a sunbeam, seized him in his claws, and remounted with him in the air. He soon found that he had a creature of more courage and strength than a hare, for which, notwithstanding the keenness of his eyesight, he had mistaken a cat. The snarling and scrambling of the prey was very inconvenient, and, what was worse, she had disengaged herself from his talons, grasped his body with her four limbs, so as to stop his breath, and seized fast hold of his throat with her teeth. Pray, said the eagle, let go your hold, and I will release you. Very fine, said the cat, I have no fancy to fall from this height and be crushed to death. You have taken me up, and you shall stoop and let me down. The eagle thought it necessary to stoop accordingly.'

"The moral was so applicable to England and America, that the fable was allowed to be original, and highly applauded."

Perhaps the ablest of all his quips was a letter designed to increase the odium of the small German princes who sold their troops to Great Britain during the Revolution. This purported to be written by one of the potentates to his officer in command in

America. "You cannot imagine my joy," the ruler declared, "on being told that of the 1950 Hessians engaged in the fight [at Trenton] but 345 escaped. There were just 1605 men killed, and I cannot sufficiently commend your prudence in sending an exact list of the dead to my minister in London. This precaution was the more necessary, as the report sent to the English ministry does not give but 1455 dead. This would make 483,450 florins, instead of the 643,500 florins which I am entitled to demand under our convention. You will comprehend the prejudice which such an error would make in my finances, and I do not doubt that you will take the necessary pains to prove that Lord North's list is false and yours correct. The court of London objects that there were one hundred wounded who ought not to be included in the list, nor paid for as dead; but I trust you will not overlook my instructions to you on quitting Cassel, and that you will not have tried by human succor to recall to life the unfortunates whose days could not be lengthened but by the loss of a leg or an arm. I do not mean by this that you should assassinate them; we should be humane, my dear Baron, but you may insinuate to the surgeons with entire propriety that a crippled man is a reproach to their profession." Then Franklin makes the writer continue:

> "I am about to send you some new recruits. Don't economize them. . . . You did right to send back to Europe that Dr. Crumerus who was so successful in curing dysentery. Don't bother with a man who is subject to looseness of the bowels. That disease makes bad soldiers. One coward will do more mischief in an engagement than ten brave men will do good. Better that they burst in their barracks than fly in



81.

~~1114.~~

58

Numb. 705.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE BOSTON

INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE.

BOSTON, March 12.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Gerriſh, of the New-England *Militia, dated* Albany, *March* 7.

THE Peltry taken in the Expedition [*See the Account of the Expedition to* Oſwegatchie *on the River St. Laurence, in your Paper of the 1ſt Inſtant.*] will as you ſee amount to a good deal of Money. The Poſſeſſion of this Booty at firſt gave us Pleaſure; but we were ſtruck with Horror to find among the Packages, 8 large ones containing SCALPS of our unhappy Country-folks, taken in the three laſt Years by the Senneka Indians from the Inhabitants of the Frontiers of New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Virginia, and ſent by them as a Preſent to Col. Haldimand, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him tranſmitted to England. They were accompanied by the following curious Letter to that Gentleman.

May it pleaſe your Excellency, *Teoga, Jan. 3d, 1782.*

"At the Requeſt of the Senneka Chiefs I ſend herewith to your Excellency, under the Care of James Boyd, eight Packs of Scalps, cured, dried, hooped and painted, with all the Indian triumphal Marks, of which the following is Invoice and Explanation.

No. 1. Containing 43 Scalps of Congreſs Soldiers killed in different Skirmiſhes; theſe are ſtretched on black Hoops, 4 Inches diameter; the inſide of the Skin painted red, with a ſmall black Spot to note their being killed with Bullets. Alſo 62 of Farmers, killed in their Houſes; the Hoops red; the Skin painted brown, and marked with a Hoe; a black Circle all round, to denote their being ſurpriſed in the Night; and a black Hatchet in the Middle, ſignifying their being killed with that Weapon.

No. 2. Containing 98 of Farmers killed in their Houſes; Hoops red; Figure of a Hoe, to mark their Profeſſion; great white Circle and Sun, to ſhew they were ſurpriſed in the Day-time; a little red Foot, to ſhew they ſtood upon their Defence, and died fighting for their Lives and Families.

No. 3. Containing 97 of Farmers; Hoops green, to ſhew they were killed in their Fields; a large white Circle with a little round Mark on it for the Sun, to ſhew that it was in the Day-time; black Bullet-mark on ſome, Hatchet on others.

No. 4. Containing 102 of Farmers, mixed of the ſeveral Marks above; only 18 marked with a little yellow Flame, to denote their being of Priſoners burnt alive, after being ſcalped, their Nails pulled out by the Roots, and other Torments; one of theſe latter ſuppoſed to be of a rebel Clergyman, his Band being fixed to the Hoop of his Scalp. Moſt of the Farmers appear by the Hair to have been young or middle-aged Men; there being but 67 very grey Heads among them all; which makes the Service more eſſential.

No. 5. Containing 88 Scalps of Women; Hair long, braided in the Indian Faſhion, to ſhew they were Mothers; Hoops blue; Skin yellow Ground, with little red Tadpoles to repreſent, by way of Triumph, the Tears or Grief occaſioned to their Relations; a black Scalping Knife or Hatchet at the Bottom, to mark their being killed with thoſe Inſtruments. 17 others, Hair very grey; black Hoops; plain brown Colour; no Mark but the ſhort Club or Caſſetete, to ſhew they were knocked down dead, or had their Brains beat out.

No. 6. Containing 193 Boys' Scalps of various Ages; ſmall green Hoops; whitiſh Ground on the Skin, with red Tears in the Middle, and black Bullet-marks, Knife, Hatchet, or Club, as their Deaths happened.

No. 7. 211 Girls' Scalps, big and little; ſmall yellow Hoops; white Ground; Tears; Hatchet, Club, ſcalping Knife, &c.

No. 8. This Package is a Mixture of all the Varieties above-mention'd, to the Number of 122; with a Box of Birch Bark, containing 29 little Infants' Scalps of various Sizes; ſmall white Hoops; white Ground; no Tears; and only a little black Knife in the Middle, to ſhew they were ript out of their Mothers' Bellies.

With theſe Packs, the Chiefs ſend to your Excellency the following Speech, delivered by Conejogatchie in Council, interpreted by the elder Moore, the Trader, and taken down by me in Writing.

Father,

We ſend you herewith many Scalps, that you may ſee we are not idle Friends.

A blue Belt.

Father,

We wiſh you to ſend theſe Scalps over the Water to the great King, that he may regard them and be refreſhed; and that he may ſee our faithfulneſs in deſtroying his Enemies, and be convinced that his Preſents have not been made to ungrateful People.

A blue and white Belt with red Taſſels.

Father,

Attend to what I am now going to ſay: it is a Matter of much Weight. The great King's Enemies are many, and they grow faſt in Number. They were formerly like young Panthers: they could neither bite nor ſcratch: we could play with them ſafely: we feared nothing they could do to us. But now their Bodies are become big as the Elk, and ſtrong as the Buffalo: they have alſo got great and ſharp Claws. They have driven us out of our Country for taking Part in your Quarrel. We expect the great King will give us another Country, that our Children may live after us, and be his Friends and Children, as we are. Say this for us to the great King. To enforce it we give this Belt.

A great white Belt with blue Taſſels.

Father,

We have only to ſay farther that your Traders exact more than ever for their Goods; and our Hunting is leſſened by the War, ſo that we have fewer Skins to give for them. This ruins us. Think of ſome Remedy. We are poor: and you have Plenty of every Thing. We know you will ſend us Powder and Guns, and Knives and Hatchets: but we alſo want Shirts and Blankets.

A little white Belt.

I do not doubt but that your Excellency will think it proper to give ſome farther Encouragement to theſe honeſt People. The high Prices they complain of, are the neceſſary Effect of the War. Whatever Preſents may be ſent for them through my Hands, ſhall be diſtributed with Prudence and Fidelity. I have the Honour of being

Your Excellency's moſt obedient
And moſt humble Servant,
JAMES CRAUFURD."

It was at firſt propoſed to bury theſe Scalps: but Lieutenant Fitzgerald, who you know has got Leave of Abſence to go for Ireland on his private Affairs, ſaid he thought it better they ſhould proceed to their Deſtination; and if they were given to him, he would undertake to carry them to England, and hang them all up in ſome dark Night on the Trees in St. James's Park, where they could be ſeen from the King and Queen's Palaces in the Morning; for that the Sight of them might perhaps ſtrike Muley Iſhmael (as he call'd him) with ſome Compunction of Conſcience. They were accordingly delivered to Fitz, and he has brought them ſafe hither. To-morrow they go with his Baggage in a Waggon for Boſton, and will probably be there in a few Days after this Letter.

I am, &c.
SAMUEL GERRISH.

BOSTON, March 20.

Monday laſt arrived here Lieutenant Fitzgerald abovementioned, and Yeſterday the Waggon with the Scalps. Thouſands of People are flocking to ſee them this Morning, and all Mouths are full of Execrations. Fixing them to the Trees is not approved. It is now propoſed to make them up in decent little Packets, ſeal and direct them; one to the King, containing a Sample of every Sort for his Muſeum; one to the Queen, with ſome of Women and little Children: the Reſt to be diſtributed among both Houſes of Parliament; a double Quantity to the Biſhops.

Mr. Willis,

Pleaſe to inſert in your uſeful Paper the following Copy of a Letter, from Commodore Jones, directed

To Sir Joſeph York, Ambaſſador from the King of England to the States-general of the United Provinces.

Ipſwich, New-England,
March 7, 1781.

SIR,

I Have lately ſeen a memorial, ſaid to have been preſented by your Excellency to their High Mightineſſes the States-general, in which you are pleaſed to qualify me with the title of *pirate.*

A pirate is defined to be *hoſtis humani generis*, [an enemy to all mankind]. It happens, Sir, that I am an enemy to no part of mankind, except your nation, the Engliſh; which nation at the ſame time comes much more within the definition; being actually an enemy to, and at war with, one whole quarter of the world, America, conſiderable parts of Aſia and Africa, a great part of Europe, and in a fair way of being at war with the reſt.

A pirate makes war for the ſake of *rapine.* This is not the kind of war I am engaged in againſt England. Our's is a war in defence of *liberty* .... the moſt juſt of all wars; and of our *properties*, which your nation would have taken from us, without our conſent, in violation of our rights, and by an armed force. Your's, therefore, is a war of *rapine*; of courſe, a piratical war: and thoſe who approve of it, and

FRANKLIN'S FICTITIOUS NEWSPAPER.
From the copy in the Congressional Library, Washington.

a battle, and tarnish the glory of our arms. Besides, you know that they pay me as killed for all who die from disease, and I don't get a farthing for runaways. My trip to Italy, which has cost me enormously, makes it desirable that there should be a great mortality among them. You will therefore promise promotion to all who expose themselves; you will exhort to seek glory in the midst of dangers; you will say to Major Maundorff that I am not at all content with his saving the 345 men who escaped the massacre at Trenton. Through the whole campaign he has not had ten men killed in consequence of his orders. Finally, let it be your principal object to prolong the war and avoid a decisive engagement on either side, for I have made arrangements for a grand Italian opera, and I do not wish to be obliged to give it up."

A greater imposition still was something he did, in 1782, in an endeavor to make Europe appreciate the horrors of another British mode of warfare. On his private press at Passy he struck off a fictitious newspaper, purporting to be a supplement of the Boston "Chronicle," filled with certain evidence which he wished to get before the public. Chief of these was an account of the capture of a large quantity of scalps from the Indians in English pay, which had been made up in eight packs, "cured, dried, hooped and painted," preparatory to sending them as a gift to George III. With them was an invoice of each package, of which the following are examples:

"No. 4. Containing one hundred and two of farmers, mixed of the several marks above; only eighteen marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments; one of these latter supposed to be a rebel clergyman, his band being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by the hair to have been young or middle-aged men; there being but sixty-seven very gray heads among them all; which makes the service more essential.

"No. 5. Containing eighty-eight scalps of women; hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue; skins yellow ground, with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping-knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed with these instruments. Seventeen others, hair very gray; black hoops; plain brown color; no mark, but the short club or *casse-tête*, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out."

After this gruesome description in the paper, almost as if to show the literary versatility of the man, comes a pretended letter from John Paul Jones to the British minister at The Hague. In a moment of temper the diplomat had termed the naval officer "a pirate," and it was too good a chance for Franklin not to seize upon. "A pirate," the Englishman was told, "is defined to be *hostis humani generis* (an enemy to all mankind). It happens, Sir, that I am an enemy to no part of mankind, except your nation, the English; which nation, at the same time, comes much more within the definition, being actually an enemy to, and at war with, one whole quarter of the world. . . . A pirate makes war for the sake of *rapine*. This is not the kind of war I am engaged in against England. Ours is a war in defence of *liberty*, the most just of all wars; and of our *properties*, which your nation would have taken from us, without our consent, in violation of our rights, and by an armed force. Yours, therefore, is a war of *rapine;* of course a piratical war; and those who approve of it, and are engaged in it, more justly deserve the name of *pirates*, which you bestow on me." Following this letter came a number of minor paragraphs, and even advertisements, all intended to give verisimilitude.

> "Enclosed I send you a few copies of a paper," Franklin wrote to a friend, "that places in a striking light, the English barbarities in America, particularly those committed by the savages at their instigation. The FORM may perhaps not be genuine, but the *substance* is truth; the number of our people of all kinds and ages murdered and scalped by them being known to exceed that of the invoices. Make any use of them you may think proper to shame your Anglomanes, but do not let it be known through what hand they come."

For once the fraud was too well done, and Franklin overreached himself by the very ability of his philippic against the ambassador. "Have you seen in the papers an excellent letter by Paul Jones to Sir Joseph York?" asked Horace Walpole of a correspondent. "*Elle nous dit bien des vérités.* I doubt poor Sir Joseph cannot answer them! Dr. Franklin himself, I should think, was the author. It is certainly from a first-rate pen, and not a common man-of-war." This was the judgment, however, of a skilled critic, and the supplement was generally accepted as genuine.

It was not his contemporaries alone whom Franklin deceived by the cleverness of his art. While acting as agent in London for a number of the colonies, he was compelled, if he wished their interests to receive the slightest attention, to dance attendance at the levees; but he put his disgust at a system of business based on personal influence and corruption into one of the severest pieces of irony he ever penned. "It is now more than one hundred and seventy years since the translation of our common English Bible," he began a paper which he entitled "Proposed New Version of the Bible." "The language in that time is much changed," he continues, "and the stile being obsolete, and thence less agreeable, is perhaps one reason why the reading of that excellent book is of late so much neglected. I have therefore thought it would be well to procure a new version, in which, preserving the sense, the turn of phrase and manner of expression should be modern. I do not pretend to have the necessary abilities for such a work myself; I throw out the hint for the consideration of the learned: and only venture to send you a few verses of the first chapter of Job, which may serve as a sample of the kind of version I would recommend."

Then followed seven paraphrased verses, which, without the least change of substance, were, by a mere change of words, made to become a savage satire on the monarchical system of government. Yet such was the skill with which it was written that the editor to whom it was sent printed it in good faith as a genuine proposal, and it has since been frequently cited as a serious endeavor of its author. Thus one of his recent biographers devotes three pages to abuse of the travesty, writing:

> "When age and experience should have taught him better, he . . . made a paraphrase of a chapter of Job. In no book, it is safe to say, is the force and beauty of the English tongue so finely shown as in King James's Bible. But on Franklin that force and beauty were wholly lost. The language he pronounced obsolete. The style he thought not agreeable, and he was for a new rendering in which the turn of phrase and manner of expression should be modern. . . . The plan is beneath criticism. Were such a piece of folly ever begun, there would remain but one other depth of folly to which it

> would be possible to go down. Franklin proposed to fit out the Kingdom of Heaven with lords, nobles, a ministry, and levee days. It would on the same principle be proper to make another version suitable for republics. . . . Nor would he have hesitated to make such a version. The Bible was to him in no sense a book for spiritual guidance. . . . Hence it was that the first chapter of Job taught him nothing but a lesson in politics."

Something Matthew Arnold wrote is still more amusing:

> "I remember the relief with which, after long feeling the sway of Franklin's imperturbable common sense, I came upon a project of his for a new version of the Book of Job, to replace the old version, the style of which, says Franklin, has become obsolete, and thence less agreeable. 'I give,' he continues, 'a few verses, which may serve as a sample of the kind of version I would recommend.' We all recollect the famous verse in our translation: 'Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought?' Franklin makes this, 'Does your Majesty imagine that Job's good conduct is the effect of mere personal attachment and affection?' I well remember how when first I read that I drew a deep breath of relief, and said to myself, 'After all, there is a stretch of humanity beyond Franklin's victorious good sense.' The lover of literary curiosities may be almost sorry that Franklin's proposal never got any further."

It is a pity that Franklin could not read both these judgments, for no one would have enjoyed such "literary curiosities" more, and that he should have successfully deceived biographers and critics is only a further monument to his cleverness in letters.

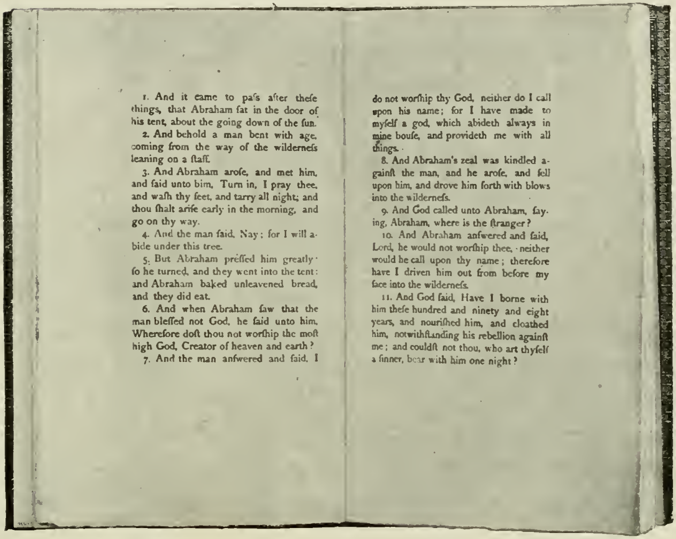
Franklin attempted a far more difficult piece of biblical revision, however, than a paraphrase of Job, by rewriting the Lord's Prayer. His draft, which has been strangely overlooked by his editors and biographers, though imperfect, gives reasons for each suggested change, too long to be included here, though most interesting. The text of the prayer, as far as extant, was:

> "Heavenly Father. May all revere thee. And become thy dutiful Children and faithful Subjects. May thy Laws be obeyed on Earth as perfectly as they are in Heaven. Provide for us this Day as thou hast hitherto daily done. Forgive us our Trespasses, and enable us likewise to forgive those that offend us. Keep us out of Temptation."

How far Franklin deemed the style of the Bible obsolete and unagreeable is shown by another literary joke. He found in a book of Jeremy Taylor's a parable teaching the toleration he was so constantly advocating, and was so charmed with the moral, "well worth being made known to all mankind," that he rewrote it in Scripture language, and printing off a few copies, kept one laid in his Bible. In time he came to know what he called "Genesis LI." so well as to need no text, and one of his pleasures was "reading it by heart out of my Bible, and obtaining the remarks of the Scriptuarians upon it, which were sometimes very diverting." This amusement was finally ended by one of his friends, Lord Kames, who had persuaded Franklin to give him a copy, printing it, "without my consent," in his "History of Man," and so giving it general circulation.

It must not be supposed from this accenting of his sleight of pen that Franklin spent his time in literary legerdemain. From the time he retired from active printing and journalism he was a prolific scribbler, both of newspaper articles and of pamphlets, on all subjects he was interested in, which owed their influence to force of argument rather than to their form or turn of phrase. Poor Richard said:

> "A . . . they say has wit: for what?
> For writing?—No,—for writing not."



1. And it came to paſs after theſe things, that Abraham ſat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the ſun.

2. And behold a man bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderneſs leaning on a ſtaff.

3. And Abraham aroſe, and met him, and ſaid unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and waſh thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou ſhalt ariſe early in the morning, and go on thy way.

4. And the man ſaid, Nay; for I will abide under this tree.

5. But Abraham preſſed him greatly: ſo he turned, and they went into the tent: and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham ſaw that the man bleſſed not God, he ſaid unto him, Wherefore doſt thou not worſhip the moſt high God, Creator of heaven and earth?

7. And the man anſwered and ſaid, I do not worſhip thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myſelf a god, which abideth always in mine houſe, and provideth me with all things.

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled againſt the man, and he aroſe, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderneſs.

9. And God called unto Abraham, ſaying, Abraham, where is the ſtranger?

10. And Abraham anſwered and ſaid, Lord, he would not worſhip thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderneſs.

11. And God ſaid, Have I borne with him theſe hundred and ninety and eight years, and nouriſhed him, and cloathed him, notwithſtanding his rebellion againſt me; and couldſt not thou, who art thyſelf a ſinner, bear with him one night?

FRANKLIN'S FICTITIOUS CHAPTER OF THE BIBLE, USUALLY STYLED A PARABLE AGAINST PERSECUTION.
In the possession of the author.

But his creator was a living denial of the lines, for, judged by the product, his pen seems never to have been idle. He not merely wrote himself, but utilized the writings of others. During his long and bitter contests in Pennsylvania politics he wrote many squibs and pamphlets of a strongly partizan nature, and he was charged by an opponent with having encumbered the minutes of the Assembly with "a load of scurrilous messages of your own drawing, and . . . long reports put together from law books, old histories and journals." In his service as agent in England from 1764 to 1775, he caused every important American pamphlet to be republished in London, usually adding a preface of his own. In Paris he was instrumental in starting a periodical that should disseminate news of the Revolution untinctured by British prejudice. He saw to it that certain periodicals employed writers friendly to the American cause, and encouraged other men to write. His long experience had taught him the value of the press, and in every contest in which he took a share he used it to its fullest extent.

> "The ancient Roman and Greek orators," he remarked, "could only speak to the number of citizens capable of being assembled within the reach of their voice. Their writings had little effect, because the bulk of the people could not read. Now by the press we can speak to nations, and good books and well written pamphlets have great and general influence. The facility with which the same truths may be repeatedly enforced by placing them daily in different lights in newspapers, which are everywhere read, gives a great chance of establishing them. And we now find that it is not only right to strike while the iron is hot, but that it may be very practicable to heat it by continually striking."

Unquestionably his best work, in a literary sense, were what he himself termed "bagatelles," being little essays written during his years in France, and never destined for publication, but solely for the amusement of the little circle of intimates he drew about him, and in some cases composed for the entertainment of a single invalid of whom he was particularly fond. In this way were produced "The Whistle," "The Ephemera," "The Morals of Chess," "The Dialogue with the Gout," and "The Handsome and Deformed Leg," each of which, in its own way, has rarely been excelled in its combination of the two elements which go to make the best literature—wisdom of thought and charm of form.

One peculiarity of this pen-activity was his endeavor to avoid being the draftsman of public papers. In his long political service he could not help but prepare one occasionally, yet whenever possible he left it for others to do; and though he was unquestionably the foremost writer of his country during his lifetime, not one really famous document was framed by him. His reasons for this policy were given to Jefferson, under circumstances that made them peculiarly interesting:

> "When the Declaration of Independence was under the consideration of Congress, there were two or three unlucky expressions in it which gave offence to some members. The words 'Scotch and other foreign auxiliaries' excited the ire of a gentleman or two of that country. Severe strictures on the conduct of the British king, in negativing our repeated repeals of the law which permitted the importation of slaves, were disapproved by some Southern gentlemen, whose reflections were not yet matured to the full abhorrence of that traffic. Although the offensive expressions were immediately yielded, these gentlemen continued their depredations on other parts of the instrument. I was sitting by Dr. Franklin, who perceived that I was not insensible to these mutilations. 'I have made it a rule,' said he, 'whenever in my power, to avoid becoming the draughtsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body. I took my lesson from an incident which I will relate to you. When I was a journeyman printer, one of

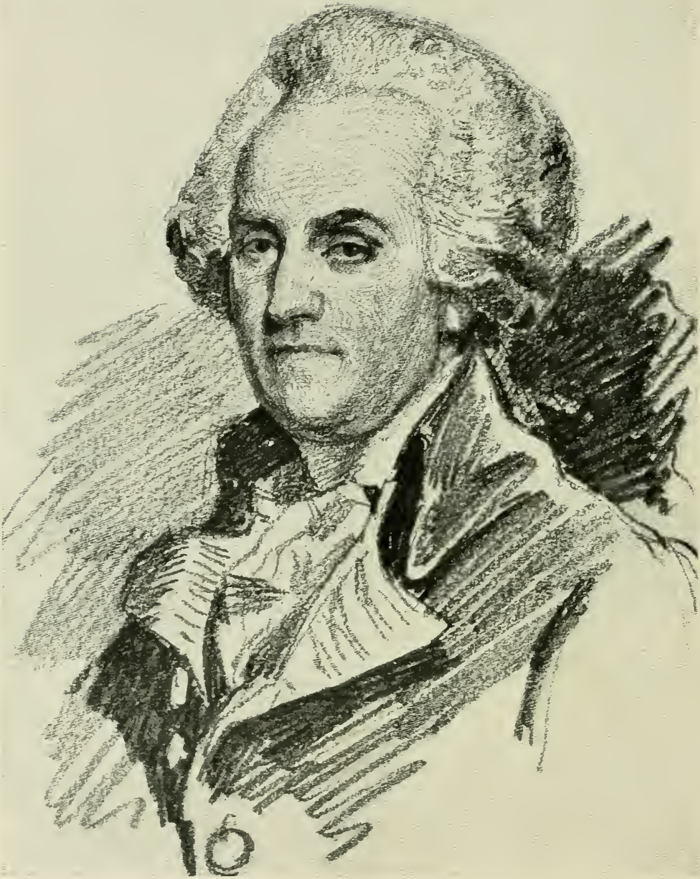
my companions, an apprentice hatter, having served out his time, was about to open shop for himself. His first concern was to have a handsome sign-board, with a proper inscription. He composed it in these words, "John Thompson, *Hatter*, *makes* and *sells hats* for ready money," with a figure of a hat subjoined; but he thought he would submit it to his friends for their amendments. The first he showed it to thought the word "*Hatter*" tautologous, because followed by the words "*makes hats*," which show he was a hatter. It was struck out. The next observed that the word "*makes*" might as well be omitted, because his customers would not care who made the hats. If good and to their mind, they would buy, by whomsoever made. He struck it out. A third said he thought the words "*for ready money*" were useless, as it was not the custom of the place to sell on credit. Every one who purchased expected to pay. They were parted with, and the inscription now stood, "John Thompson sells hats." "*Sells hats*," says his next friend! "Why nobody will expect you to give them away, what then is the use of that word?" It was stricken out, and "*hats*" followed it, the rather as there was one painted on the board. So the inscription was reduced ultimately to "John Thompson" with the figure of a hat subjoined.' "

In objecting to submit his writings to criticism of this kind, Franklin's sense of humor was too strong not to get amusement out of the author's undue valuation of his own work. "I have of late fancy'd myself to write better than ever I did," he told a friend who jocosely asserted that his judgment was on the decline, "and, farther, that when any thing of mine is abridged in the papers or magazines, I conceit that the abridger has left out the very best and brightest parts. These, my friend, are much stronger proofs, and put me in mind of Gil Blas's patron, the homily-maker." More seriously he complained of a London editor, who, for party reasons, made corrections and omissions in one of his pieces.

"He has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite," Franklin grumbled. "It seems only to paw and mumble." Yet he welcomed true criticism, and in reply to such a one from David Hume, he wrote:

> "I thank you for your friendly admonition relating to some unusual words in the pamphlet. It will be of service to me. The '*pejorate*,' and the '*colonize*,' since they are not in common use here, I give up as bad; for certainly in writings intended for persuasion and for general information, one cannot be too clear; and every expression in the least obscure is a fault. The '*unshakeable*' too, though clear, I give up as rather low. The introducing new words, where we are already possessed of old ones sufficiently expressive, I confess must be generally wrong, as it tends to change the language; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish the usage of our tongue permitted making new words, when we want them, by composition of old ones whose meanings are already well understood. The German allows of it, and it is a common practice with their writers. Many of our present English words were originally so made; and many of the Latin words. In point of clearness, such compound words would have the advantage of any we can borrow from the ancient or from foreign languages. For instance, the word *inaccessible*, though long in use among us, is not yet, I dare say, so universally understood by our people, as the word *uncomeatable* would immediately be, which we are not allowed to write. But I hope, with you, that we shall always in America make the best English of this Island our standard, and I believe it will be so. I assure you it often gives me pleasure to reflect how greatly the *audience* (if I may so term it) of a good English writer will, in another century or two, be increased by the increase of English people in our colonies."

This shrewd estimate of the future value of an American public to British writers he discussed more at length in a letter to his friend Strahan, the publisher.



WILLIAM FRANKLIN, ELDER SON OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

After a pencil drawing by Albert Rosenthal from the original painting, the property of Dr. Thomas Hewson Bache.

"By the way," he informed him, "the rapid growth and extension of the English language in America must become greatly advantageous to the booksellers and holders of copyrights in England. A vast audience is assembling there for English authors, ancient, present, and future, our people doubling every twenty years; and this will demand large and of course profitable impressions of your most valuable books. I would, therefore, if I possessed such rights, entail them, if such a thing be practicable, upon my posterity; for their worth will be continually augmenting. This may look a little like advice, and yet I have drunk no *madeira* these six months." What Franklin did not conceive was that American authors and publishers would in time reverse the process and profit by the English reader; yet had it been possible for him to entail the copyright of Poor Richard and his autobiography on his own descendants, they would have been made rich by the wide sale of these two books in Anglo-Saxon countries.

The autobiography, the most famous of all his writings, is of peculiar interest, not merely as a story of his life, but because it is his only real endeavor to write a book. It was begun in 1771, during a visit with his friend Bishop Shipley at Twyford, and, as originally planned, was merely a letter to his son, William Franklin, that he might "learn the circumstances of my life." Other occupations compelled him to lay it aside when it had been brought down only to 1731. Left in Philadelphia with his papers when Franklin sailed for France, the manuscript, in the turmoil of the Revolution, was actually thrown into the street, where by good chance it was found by an old friend, who was so charmed by a reading that he begged Franklin to complete it. In compliance with the wish, a few pages were added in 1784, which mark a complete change of plan; for the alienation from his son had meantime come, and so the work was no longer a personal communication, meant for one eye only, but was now written with publication in mind. Accordingly, its author sought to ingraft a second book on the story of his life. From the year 1732 Franklin "had had in mind a little work for the benefit of youth, to be called *The Art of Virtue*," which he described to Lord Kames as follows:

> "From the title I think you will hardly conjecture what the nature of such a book may be. I must therefore explain it a little. Many people lead bad lives that would gladly lead good ones, but do not know *how* to make the change. They have frequently resolved and endeavour'd it, but in vain, because their endeavours have not been properly conducted. To expect people to be good, to be just, to be temperate, &c. without *showing* them *how* they should *become* so, seems like the ineffectual charity mentioned by the Apostle, which consists in saying to the hungry, the cold, and the naked, 'Be ye fed, be ye warmed, be ye clothed' without showing them how they should get food, fire and clothing."

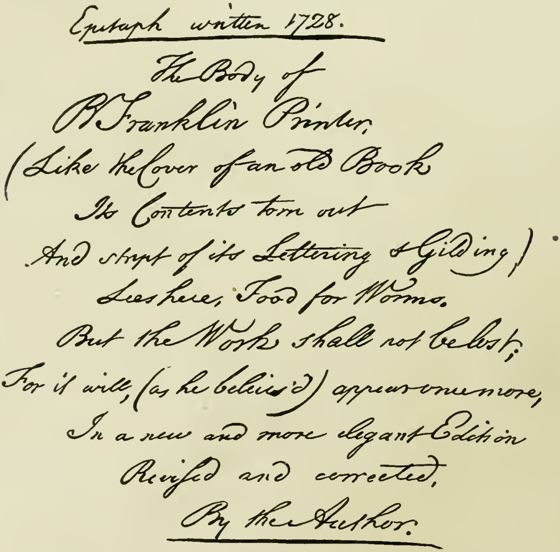
In resuming the autobiography, therefore, to "shorten the work as well as for other reasons I omit all facts that might not have a tendency to benefit the young reader by showing him from my example and my success in emerging from poverty and acquiring some degree of wealth, power, and reputation the advantages of certain modes of conduct, which I observed, and avoiding the errors which were prejudicial to me." It was this motive which induced Franklin to write with extraordinary frankness of the mistakes of his youth; and every "erratum" which he told in the autobiography was described, not because he took any pleasure in cataloguing his own failings, but in the hope that it might be of benefit in saving others from similar slips. In the next few years Franklin, urged by his friends, worked at the book; but his time was heavily mortgaged to the public, and when at last leisure came, he found that the gout and stone were faster workers than the man, and they wrote "finis" to the real life when that on paper had passed over only a little more than half its story.

To judge Franklin from the literary standpoint is neither easy nor quite fair. It is not to be denied that as a philosopher, as a statesman, and as a friend he owed much of his success to his ability as a writer. His letters charmed all, and made his correspondence eagerly sought. His political arguments were the joy of his party and the dread of his opponents. His scientific discoveries were explained in language at once so simple and so clear that plow-boy and exquisite could follow his thought or his experiment to its conclusion. Yet he was never a literary man in the true and common meaning of the term. Omitting his uncompleted autobiography and his scientific writings, there is hardly a line of his pen which was not privately or anonymously written, to exert a transient influence, fill an empty column, or please a friend. The larger part of his work was not only done in haste, but never revised or even proof-read. Yet this self-educated boy and busy, practical man gave to American literature the most popular autobiography ever written, a series of political and social satires that can bear comparison with those of the greatest satirists, a private correspondence as readable as Walpole's or Chesterfield's; and the collection of Poor Richard's epigrams has been oftener printed and translated than any other production of an American pen.

> "If you would not be forgotten,
> As soon as you are dead and rotten,
> Either write things worth reading,
> Or do things worth the writing,"

advised the Almanac-maker, and his original did both. Yet Franklin himself asserted:

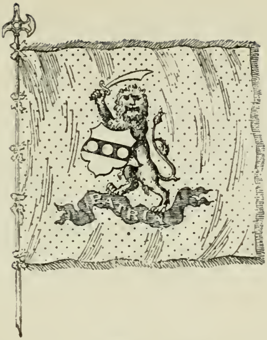
> "He that can compose himself, is wiser than he that composes books."



Epitaph written 1728.

The Body of
B Franklin Printer,
(Like the Cover of an old Book
Its Contents torn out
And stript of its Lettering & Gilding)
Lies here, Food for Worms.
But the Work shall not be lost;
For it will, (as he believ'd) appear once more,
In a new and more elegant Edition
Reviſed and corrected,
By the Author.

FACSIMILE OF EPITAPH IN FRANKLIN'S HANDWRITING.



ONE OF THE FLAGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA "ASSOCIATORS," 1747.
Designed by Franklin and made by the women of Philadelphia.

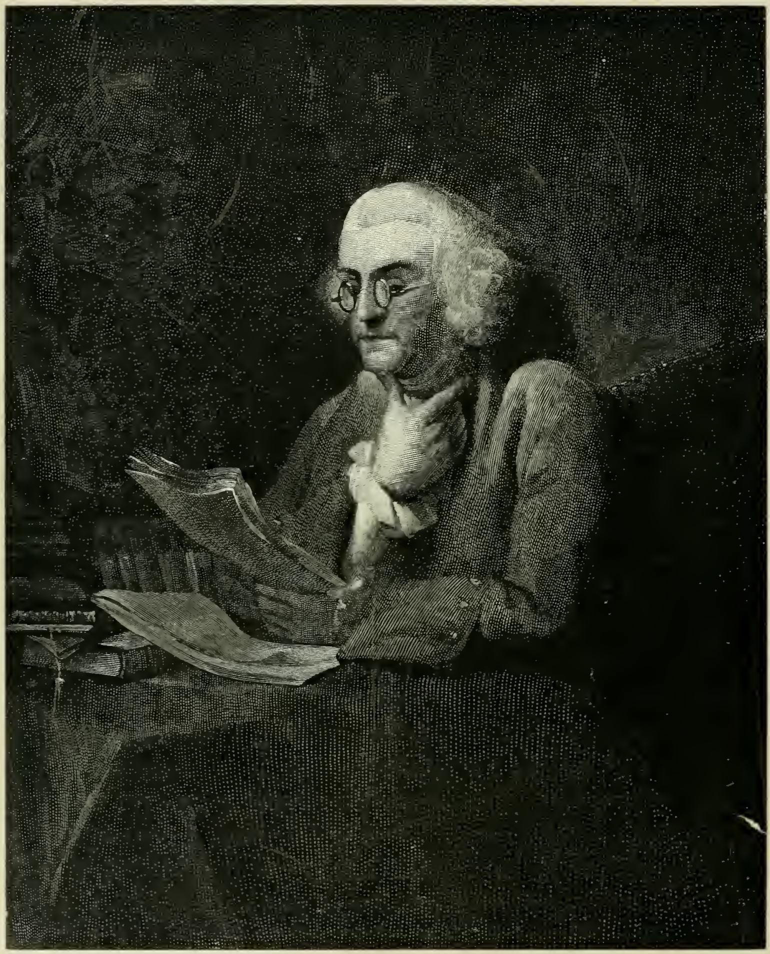
VII

RELATIONS WITH THE FAIR SEX

AT fourteen years of age, so Franklin relates, he engaged in a controversy with another boy on "the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study," his opponent maintaining "that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it," while Benjamin "took the contrary side, perhaps a little for disputes sake." Two years later, when composing the letters of Mrs. Dogood, he wrote one in defense of women, in reply to a request of "Ephraim Censorious" that the author of those essays should "Let the first Volley of your Resentment be directed against *Female* Vice; let Female Idleness, Ignorance and Folly . . . be the Subject of your satyrs, but more especially Female Pride, which I think is intollerable." "I find it a very difficult Matter," the embryo philosopher replied, "to reprove Women separate from the Men, for what vice is there in which the Men have not as great a share as Women?" Moreover, he argued, such faults as the sex have are chiefly due to men. Idleness? "If a man will be so fond and so foolish as to labour hard himself for a Livelihood, and suffer his Wife in the mean Time to sit in Ease and Idleness, let him not blame her if she does so, for it is in a great Measure his own Fault." Ignorance and folly? The fault is "wholly on the Men, for not allowing Women the Advantages of Education." Pride? "Truly, if Women are proud, it is certainly owing to the Men still; for if they will be such *Simpletons* as to humble themselves at their Feet, and fill their credulous Ears with extravagant Praises of their Wit, Beauty, and other Accomplishments . . . what Wonder is it, if they carry themselves haughtily and live extravagantly?"

As befitted her pen-name, Mrs. Dogood devoted much space to the consideration of feminine affairs. One of her letters treats "of the lamentable Condition of Widows," and suggests for their benefit a mutual insurance that shall give to every married woman five hundred pounds on the death of her husband. Another discusses the sad lot of the maid who, "being puffed up in her younger Years with a numerous Train of Humble Servants, had the Vanity to think, that her extraordinary Wit and Beauty could continually recommend her to the Esteem of the Gallants," but has seen her rejected swains, to "all Appearance in a dying Condition," recover their health and marry, and who, "disappointed in and neglected by her former Adorers," and with "no new Offers appearing," begs the writer "to form a Project for the Relief of all those penitent Mortals of the Fair Sex, that are like to be punished with their Virginity, until old Age, for the Pride and Insolence of their Youth." Showing no favor to her own condition, the widow suggests a "Friendly Society" that shall pay to each member, when the age of thirty is attained, five hundred pounds, which sum she deems sufficient to fit each with a husband; but she adds that this premium shall be subject to the condition that "No woman, who after claiming and receiving, has had the good Fortune to marry, shall entertain any Company with Encomiums on her Husband, above the Space of one Hour at a Time." A third article, picturing Boston at night, describes still another class of feminine unfortunates, of whom the sixteen-year-old lad might better have been ignorant.

One has but to read Fielding or Smollett to know that the eighteenth century was a poor school for the learning of moral purity; and the runaway prentice, separated from home and parents, had fewer influences than most to save him from adopting the view of the times that human appetites were given to man for his enjoyment, and that their gratification was a venial fault at most. In the years of wandering which followed his leaving Boston, he himself frankly confesses that his "hard-to-be-governed passion of youth hurried" him "frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in" his "way"; and he probably had his own transgressions in mind when, a few years later, in a newspaper essay, he bespoke a charitable judgment of such weakness,



DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
From a painting by D. Martin. Property of the Earl of Stanhope.

arguing in behalf of the abstract offender that "your Youth, your Inexperience, the Weakness of your Reason, and the Violence of your Passions all plead strongly for you." As he grew in years and wisdom, Franklin set himself to conquer his own nature in this failing, as in others; but struggle as he would, his physique was stronger than his will: through all his life he never succeeded in bringing himself to his own standard, and Poor Richard could speak wittingly when he asserted that "The proof of gold is fire: the proof of woman, gold: the proof of man, a woman." Yet, though this incontinence was a matter of common knowledge, and was recurrently used as a subject of attack in political campaigns, his own generation, both men and women, deemed him a moral man, whose friendship was an honor; and it is unfair to judge him by standards that did not exist at the time he lived, or to hold his other virtues in disrespect because he lacked this one.

The roving period of his journeyman life over, no sooner was he settled in Philadelphia than he looked about in search of a helpmeet; for, according to Poor Richard, "A man without a wife is but half a man"; a view enlarged upon by Franklin when he wrote a young friend: "It is the man and woman united that make the compleat human being. Separate, she wants his force of body and strength of reason; he, her softness, sensibility, and acute discernment. Together they are more likely to succeed in the world. A single man has not nearly the value he would have in the state of union. He is an incompleat animal. He resembles the odd half of a pair of scissors. If you get a prudent, healthy wife, your industry in your profession, with her good economy, will be a fortune sufficient." In the same vein and almost in the same words, even to his somewhat questionable comparison of matrimony to a pair of scissors, he told another:

> "The married state is, after all our jokes, the happiest, because conformable to our natures. Man and woman have each of them qualities and tempers, in which the other is deficient, and which in union contribute to the common felicity. Single and separate, they are not the complete human being; they are like the odd halves of scissors: they cannot answer the end of their formation."

Favorably as the young printer thought of the institution of wedlock, he allowed little sentiment to enter into his own suits. He had leased the upper part of his printing-office to a family of the name of Godfrey, in turn boarding with them, and, in womanly fashion,

> "Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensu'd, the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encourag'd me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey manag'd our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing-house, which I believe was then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare; I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this, after some days, was, that they did not approve the match. . . . Whether this was a real change of sentiment or only artifice, on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleas'd, I know not;

but I suspected the latter, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterward some more favorable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys; we differ'd, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates."

"This affair," Franklin continues calmly, "having turned my thoughts to marriage, I look'd round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that, the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such a one as I should not otherwise think agreeable." His empty rooms, too, no doubt were a persuasive; for though Poor Richard advised that one "Never take a wife till you have a house (and a fire) to put her in," he also maintained that "A house without a woman and firelight, is like a body without soul and spirit." Disappointed in his several courtships, he turned to one whom he had already wooed and won.

Over four years before these abortive attempts, on the day of his first arrival in Philadelphia, the runaway apprentice, unkempt and unwashed from the journey, and with "three great puffy rolls," one under each arm, and eating a third, had walked "up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance." Presently, after he had secured work with Keimer, he took lodgings at Mr. Read's, and propinquity thus favoring, he "made some courtship during this time to Miss Read."

> "I had," he states, "a great respect and affection for her, and had some reason to believe she had the same for me; but, as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, only a little above eighteen, it was thought most prudent by her mother to prevent our going too far at present, as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I expected, set up in my business. Perhaps, too, she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be."

Once in London, Franklin says: "I forgot by degrees, my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return." This was, as he candidly owned when older, "another of the great errata of my life, which I would wish to correct if I were to live it over again." He acknowledged, too, that when, eighteen months later, he returned, and established himself in Philadelphia, "I should have been . . . asham'd at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him, refusing to cohabit with him or bear his name, it being now said that he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, tho' an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends. He got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there."

Despite Franklin's ill treatment of them, there was no rupture, and "a friendly correspondence as neighbors and old acquaintances had continued between me and Mr. Read's family, who all had a regard for me from

MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN
After the portrait in possession of Rev. F. B. Hodge, D. D., Wilkesbarre, Penn.

the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service." Thus drawn into the family circle,

> "I piti'd poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness, tho' the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. The match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be prov'd, because of the distance; and, tho' there was a report of his death it was not certain. Then, tho' it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be call'd upon to pay."

An escape from these difficulties was found in a common-law marriage, and Franklin "took her to wife" September 1, 1730. "None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending shop; we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could." Long years after Mrs. Franklin's death, her husband bore testimony to the aid she had been to him, telling a young girl: "Frugality is an enriching virtue; a virtue I never could acquire myself; but I was once lucky enough to find it in a wife, who thereby became a fortune to me. Do you possess it? If you do, and I were twenty years younger, I would give your father one thousand guineas for you. I know you would be worth more to me as a *ménagère*, but I am covetous, and love good bargains." Win a prudent wife, the printer said, and "if she does not *bring* a fortune, she will help to *make* one. Industry, frugality and prudent economy in a wife are to the tradesman in their effect a fortune." When his daughter married a shopkeeper, the father advised her that she could be as serviceable to her husband in keeping shop "as your Mother was to me: for you are not deficient in capacity, and I hope are not too proud." Elsewhere he wrote:

> "We have an English proverb that says, '*He that would thrive, must ask his wife.*' It was lucky for me that I had one as much dispos'd to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress, in spite of principle: being call'd one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three-and-twenty shillings, for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserv'd a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and China in our house, which afterward, in a course of years, as our wealth increas'd, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value."

In Stamp Act times the husband took comfort in the recollection "that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woolen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that

I never was prouder of my dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary."

There can be no question that Deborah Franklin was far more to her husband than a good helpmeet, for a very great affection developed between the two. In an absence Franklin declared that "I began to think of and wish for home; and as I drew nearer, I found the attraction stronger and stronger. My diligence and speed increased with my inclination. I drove on violently, and made such long stretches, that a very few days brought me to my own house and to the arms of my good old wife." When in England he told her:

> "You may think, perhaps, that I can find many amusements here to pass the time agreeably. It is true, the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth, and the conversation of ingenious men, give me no small pleasure; but, at this time of life, domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company."

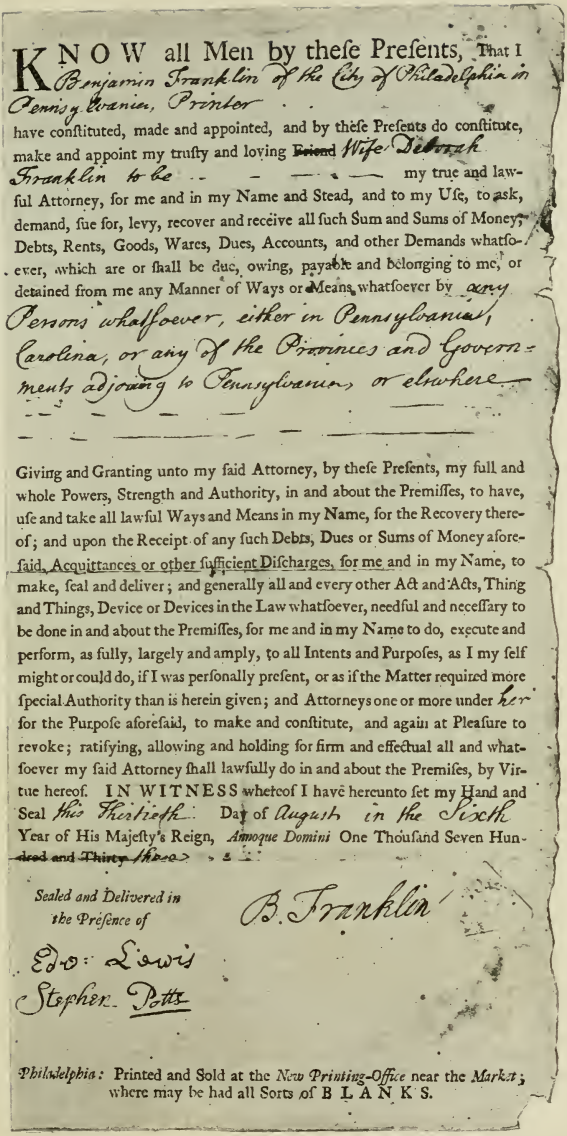
Again he wrote: "MY DEAR LOVE:—I hoped to have been on the sea in my return by this time; but find I must stay a few weeks longer, perhaps for the summer ships. Thanks to God, I continue well and hearty; and I hope to find you so, when I have the happiness once more of seeing you."

One form in which this love expressed itself was in the gifts they made each other during the years they were separated. How Mrs. Franklin sent her husband apples, buckwheat, and other American goodies has already been recorded, and he made ample return for them. Busy as the colony agent was in his sojourns in London, he found time to select and ship remembrances of many kinds to his wife. Thus he notified her that "I sent my dear a newest fashioned white hat and cloak, and sundry little things, which I hope will get safe to hand. I now send her a pair of buckles, made of French paste stones, which are next in lustre to diamonds." Again he informed her:

> "I have ordered two large print Common Prayer books to be bound, on purpose for you and Goody Smith; and, that the largeness of the print may not make them too bulky, the christenings, matrimonies, and every thing else that you and she have not immediate and constant occasion for, are to be omitted. So you will both of you be reprieved from the use of spectacles in church a little longer."

Of another gift he wrote: "My poor cousin Walker, in Buckinghamshire, is a lacemaker. She was ambitious of presenting you and Sally with some netting of her work, but as I knew she could not afford it, I chose to pay for it at her usual price, 3/6 per yard. It goes also in the box." He even noted the fashions, and to help her to be in style, "sent a striped cotton and silk gown for you, of a manufacture now much the mode here. There is another for Sally. People line them with some old silk gown, and they look very handsome." Of one present he said: "I also forgot among the china, to mention a large fine jug for beer, to stand in the cooler. I fell in love with it at first sight; for I thought it looked like a fat jolly dame, clean and tidy, with a neat blue and white calico gown on, good natured and lovely, and put me in mind of somebody."

As they sent each other numerous gifts, so, too, they wrote each other frequently, and Franklin boasted that "I think nobody ever had more faithful correspondents than I have in Mr. Hughes and you. It is impossible to get or keep out of your debts." Nor was he himself neglectful, for he told her once: "I know you love to have a line from me by every packet, so I write, though I have little to say." Despite this care, the irregularities of the mails produced chidings that bespoke her eagerness for news of him. "Aprill 7 this day is Cumpleet 5 munthes senes you lefte your one House I did reseve a letter from the Capes senes that not one line I due supose that you did write by the packit but that is not arived yit." And again she complained: "I have bin verey much distrest a boute [you] as I did not [get] oney letter nor one word from you nor did I hear one word from oney bodey that you wrote to so I muste submit and indever to submit to what I am to bair." Their correspondence, too, never failed to express strong affection. Franklin usually began his, "My Dear Child," or "My Dear Love," and concluded, "I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband," varied at times by "I am, dear girl, your loving husband," a formula which was so customary that he ended thus one letter which had taken her to task for not writing, and then, in a postscript, he added: "I have scratched out the *loving words*, being writ in haste by mistake when I *forgot I was angry*." In return her letters opened, "My dear child," and even "My Dearest Dear Child," and were signed, "I am, my dear child, your ffeckshonot wife," which was occasionally modified



KNOW all Men by theſe Preſents, That I Benjamin Franklin of the City of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Printer

have conſtituted, made and appointed, and by theſe Preſents do conſtitute, make and appoint my truſty and loving ~~Friend~~ Wife Deborah Franklin to be my true and lawful Attorney, for me and in my Name and Stead, and to my Uſe, to ask, demand, ſue for, levy, recover and receive all ſuch Sum and Sums of Money, Debts, Rents, Goods, Wares, Dues, Accounts, and other Demands whatſoever, which are or ſhall be due, owing, payable and belonging to me, or detained from me any Manner of Ways or Means whatſoever by any Persons whatſoever, either in Pennsylvania, Carolina, or any of the Provinces and Governments adjoining to Pennsylvania, or elsewhere

Giving and Granting unto my ſaid Attorney, by theſe Preſents, my full and whole Powers, Strength and Authority, in and about the Premiſſes, to have, uſe and take all lawful Ways and Means in my Name, for the Recovery thereof; and upon the Receipt of any ſuch Debts, Dues or Sums of Money aforeſaid, Acquittances or other ſufficient Diſcharges, for me and in my Name, to make, ſeal and deliver; and generally all and every other Act and Acts, Thing and Things, Device or Devices in the Law whatſoever, needful and neceſſary to be done in and about the Premiſſes, for me and in my Name to do, execute and perform, as fully, largely and amply, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as I my ſelf might or could do, if I was perſonally preſent, or as if the Matter required more ſpecial Authority than is herein given; and Attorneys one or more under her for the Purpoſe aforeſaid, to make and conſtitute, and again at Pleaſure to revoke; ratifying, allowing and holding for firm and effectual all and whatſoever my ſaid Attorney ſhall lawfully do in and about the Premiſes, by Virtue hereof. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto ſet my Hand and Seal this Thirtieth Day of August in the Sixth Year of His Majeſty's Reign, *Annoque Domini* One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Thirty three

Sealed and Delivered in the Preſence of

B. Franklin

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POWER OF ATTORNEY TO DEBORAH FRANKLIN.
In the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

in orthography to "I am your afeckshonet wife." "I set down to confab a little with my dear child," she began one missive; and she ended another, "Adue my dear child and take care of your selef for mameys sake as well as your one." Yet a third begged he "wold tell me hough your poor armes was and hough you was on your voiag and hough you air and everey thing is with you wich I want verey much to know"; and she told him that she joined with him "in senser thanks to god for your presevevoashon and Safe a rivel o what reson have you and I to be thankful for maney mercy we have reseved."

One element of discord there was, for which Mrs. Franklin can hardly be blamed. Although she allowed her husband to bring his illegitimate son into their home, and helped to rear him, she conceived so strong a dislike for him that on one occasion she termed him "the greatest Villain on Earth," and expressed her feeling, so an eye-witness reports, with "Invectives, in the foulest terms I ever heard from a Gentlewoman." This led presently, when the son was old enough, to his father arranging for him to live elsewhere. In time the relations became more friendly, Mrs. Franklin went to visit William, and the father was able to write to his wife: "I am very glad you go sometimes to Burlington. The harmony in our family and among our children gives me great pleasure." So, too, his son told him that he and his wife were "on a visit to my mother," and his letters to her were subscribed, "Your ever dutiful son." When she died, he followed the body "as chief mourner," and that this was not a mere form was shown by his letter to his father, in which he speaks of her tenderly as "my poor old mother."

Franklin has been criticized for leaving his wife in America during his two long agencies in Great Britain; but if blame there is, Mrs. Franklin should bear it, her dread of the passage being the real bar. In his first visit to London, his friend William Strahan "was very urgent with me to stay in England, and prevail with you to remove hither with Sally. He proposed several advantageous schemes to me, which appeared reasonably founded. . . . I gave him, however, two reasons why I could not think of removing hither: one my affection to Pennsylvania, and long established friendships and other connexions there; the other, your invincible aversion to crossing the seas."

Strahan was not discouraged, but wrote to Mrs. Franklin himself, urging that the removal would open up a far greater career to her husband.

> "For my own part," he went on, "I never saw a man who was, in every respect, so perfectly agreeable to me. Some are amiable in one view, some in another, he in all. Now, Madam, as I know the ladies here consider him in exactly the same light I do, upon my word I think you should come over, with all convenient speed, to look after your interest; not but that I think him as faithful to his Joan as any man breathing; but who knows what repeated and strong temptation may in time, and while he is at so great a distance from you, accomplish? . . . I know you will object to the length of the voyage and the danger of the seas; but truly this is more terrible in apprehension than in reality. Of all the ways of travelling, it is the easiest and most expeditious; and, as for the danger, there has not a soul been lost between Philadelphia and this, in my memory; and I believe not one ship taken by the enemy."

But Mrs. Franklin was not to be induced, and her spouse understood this so well that he told her that Strahan "offered to lay me a considerable wager, that a letter he has wrote to you will bring you immediately over hither; but I tell him I will not pick his pocket; for I am sure there is no inducement strong enough to prevail with you to cross the seas." After his second visit to England he assured his friend that nothing would prevent his return "if I can as I hope I can, prevail with Mrs. F. to accompany me."

It is perhaps fortunate that this dread on his wife's part existed, not merely because it anchored Franklin to American soil, but also because Mrs. Franklin would have been more of a drag on her husband's public and social life in Great Britain than she was in Philadelphia, and would have but furnished one more example of the American diplomat united to a helpmeet wholly unfit for the duties of the station. Her pet name for her husband, "Pappy," was so universally known that it was a favorite political joke of his antagonists. As her spelling bespoke, she was a woman wholly lacking in cultivation, and, still worse, an eye-witness speaks of "her turbulent temper." Even in Philadelphia she was not received socially, and this seems to have made her jealous of Franklin's public career, one instance of which is related by a Mr. Fisher, who had appealed to Franklin for aid.

"As I was coming down from my chamber this afternoon a Gentlewoman was sitting on one of the lowest stairs, which were but narrow, and there not being room enough to pass, she arose up and threw herself upon the floor and sat there. Mr. Soumien and his Wife greatly entreated her to arise and take a chair, but in vain; she would keep her seat, and kept it, I think, the longer for their entreaty. This Gentlewoman, whom, though I had seen before, I did not know, appeared to be Mrs. Franklin. She assumed the airs of extraordinary Freedom and great Humility, Lamented heavily the misfortunes of those who are unhappily infected with a too tender or benevolent disposition, said she believed all the world claimed a privilege of troubling her Pappy (so she usually calls Mr. Franklin) with their calamities and distress, giving us a general history of many such wretches and their impertinent applications to him. Mr. Franklin's moral character is good, and he and Mrs. Franklin live irreproachably as man and wife."

Yet none of these defects seem really to have troubled Franklin. "You can bear with your own Faults, and why not a fault in your Wife?" he asked on one occasion, and he seems himself to have taken his own advice to "Keep your eyes wide open before marriage, half shut afterwards." Some years after his marriage he wrote a song which gives a pleasant glimpse of his feeling for his wife.

"MY PLAIN COUNTRY JOAN; A SONG.

"Of their Chloes and Phyllises poets may prate,
I sing my plain country Joan,
These twelve years my wife, still the joy of my life,
Blest day that I made her my own.

"Not a word of her face, of her shape, of her air,
Or of flames, or of darts, you shall hear;
I beauty admire, but virtue I prize,
That fades not in seventy year.

. . . .

GREENE HOMESTEAD, AT WARWICK, RHODE ISLAND.

"Some faults have we all, and so has my Joan,
But then they 're exceedingly small,
And, now I 'm grown used to them, so like my own
I scarcely can see them at all.

"Were the finest young princess, with millions in purse,
To be had in exchange for my Joan,
I could not get better wife, might get a worse,
So I 'll stick to my dearest old Joan."

To a girl he wrote in the same vein: "Mrs. Franklin was very proud, that a young lady should have so much regard for her old husband, as to send him such a present. We talk of you every time it comes to table. She is sure you are a sensible girl, and a notable housewife, and talks of bequeathing me to you as a legacy; but I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these hundred years; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so used to them that I don't perceive them."

After Franklin's departure from Philadelphia on his second agency to England, his wife had a paralytic stroke which "greatly affected her memory and understanding," so that William Franklin advised that "she have some clever body to take care of her," for she "becomes every day more and more unfit to be left alone"; and, as already noted, Franklin arranged that his daughter and her husband should live with her. In the letter announcing her death, his son gives a pathetic glimpse of her last months:

"She told me when I took leave of her on my removal to Amboy, that she never expected to see you unless you returned this winter, for that she was sure she should not live till next summer. I heartily wish you had happened to have come over in the fall, as I think her disappointment in that respect preyed a good deal on her spirits."

"There are three faithful friends; an old wife, an old dog, and ready money," said Poor Richard, and he declared that "A good wife lost is God's gift lost."

The young girl to whom Deborah Franklin bequeathed her husband was Catherine Ray, whose acquaintance he made in one of his visits to New England, and with whom a regular correspondence was henceforth maintained. Nor was this merely a compliment paid by the philosopher, for it gave him genuine pleasure. "Begone, business, for an hour, at least, and let me chat a little with my Katy," he began one of his letters, and then continued:

"Now it is near four months since I have been favored with a single line from you; but I will not be angry with you, because it is my fault. I ran in debt to you three or four letters, and, as I did not pay, you would not trust me any more, and you had some reason. But, believe me, I am honest, and, though I should never make equal returns, you shall see I will keep fair accounts. Equal returns I can never make, though I should write to you by every post; for the pleasure I receive from one of yours is more than you can have from two of mine. The small news, the domestic occurrences among our friends, the natural pictures you draw of persons, the sensible observations and reflections you make, and the easy, chatty manner in which you express every thing, all contribute to heighten the pleasure; and the more as they remind me of those hours and miles that we talked away so agreeably, even in a winter journey, a wrong road, and a soaking shower."

In time Miss Ray married William Greene of Rhode Island, who later was governor of the State, and in

Franklin's journey to New England, in 1763, he visited the couple at their home in Warwick. "You have spun a long thread, five thousand and twenty-two yards," he once told her. "It will reach almost from Rhode Island hither. I wish I had hold of one end of it, to pull you to me. But you would break it rather than come." Even in the years in Paris, so full of work and diversion, he found time to think of her, writing on one occasion: "MY DEAR OLD FRIEND—Don't be offended at the

GEORGIANA SHIPLEY HARE-NAYLOR.
After the miniature in the possession of Augustus J. C. Hare.

word *old.* I don't mean to call you an *old woman;* it relates only to the age of our friendship, which on my part has always been a sincerely affectionate one, and, I flatter myself, the same on yours."

Friendships of the same type were those of the daughters of Jonathan Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Georgiana being the favorite. On the outbreak of the Revolution the intercourse was for a time suspended, but as soon as Franklin was settled in Paris he found means to steal a letter to her, which met with the most eager of responses:

> "After near two years had passed without my hearing any thing from you," she replied, "and while I looked upon the renewal of our correspondence as a very unlikely event, it is easier to conceive than express the joy I felt at receiving your last kind letter. . . . How good you were to send me your direction, but I fear I must not make use of it as often as I could wish, since my father says that it will be prudent not to write in the present situation of affairs. I am not of an age to be so very prudent, and the only thought that occurred to me was your suspecting that my silence proceeded from other motives. I could not support the idea of your believing that I love and esteem you less than I did some few years ago. I therefore write this once without my father's knowledge. You are the first man that ever received a private letter from me, and in this instance I feel that my intentions justify my conduct; but I must entreat that you will take no notice of my writing, when next I have the happiness of hearing from you. . . . I must once more repeat nobody knows of this scroll; 'a word to the wise,'—as Poor Richard says."

Franklin grieved that the war should prevent their seeing each other, and begged that, since he was denied the enjoyment of that "felicity," to "let me have at least that of hearing from you a little oftener," and he complained that "it is long, very long, my dear friend, since I had the great pleasure of hearing from you, and receiving any of your pleasing letters." This was due, Georgiana informed him, to the great "difficulty" in "conveying my letters safe"; yet, despite parents and British frigates, she succeeded in sending him an occasional missive, in one of which the girl asserted: "Did my family know of my writing, my letter would scarce contain the very many things they would desire me to say for them. They continue to admire and love you as much as they did formerly, nor can any time or event in the least change their sentiments." "Strange," she exclaimed, "that I should be under the necessity of concealing from the world a correspondence which it is the pride and glory of my heart to maintain."

Still another young-girl friendship was that with Mary Stevenson, with whose mother Franklin lodged during his many years in London. As already recorded, he endeavored to bring about a match between her and his son, and though the attempt failed, he styled her "my dearest child," asking, "Why should I not call you so since I love you with all the tenderness of a father?" Merely to afford her a few hours of pleasure he wrote his charming "Craven Street Gazette," a jocose court circular intended to inform the girl, who is styled "Her Majesty," of the doings of the household while she was away on a visit, and from this one excerpt is worth making, as it concerns a woman:

> "Dr. Fatsides made four hundred and sixty-nine turns in his dining-room as the exact distance of a visit to the lovely Lady Barwell, whom he did not find at home; so there was

no struggle for and against a kiss, and he sat down to dream in the easy-chair that he had it without any trouble."

In graver vein he wrote Miss Stevenson long letters, in which she was treated with absolute intellectual equality; yet, write as he would of scientific subjects, as was inevitable, the little sense of sex was present, for he ended one: "After writing six folio pages of philosophy to a young girl, is it necessary to

MRS. MARY (STEVENSON) HEWSON.
After the picture in the possession of C. S. Bradford, Philadelphia.

finish such a letter with a compliment? Is not such a letter of itself a compliment?" Miss Stevenson in time married Dr. Hewson, but this brought no change in the friendship; and in 1782 Franklin noted that:

> "In looking forward, twenty-five years seem a long period, but, in looking back, how short! Could you imagine that it is now full a quarter of a century since we were first acquainted? It was in 1757. During the greatest part of the time, I lived in the same house with my dear deceased friend, your mother; of course you and I conversed with each other much and often. It is to all our honors that in all that time we never had among us the smallest misunderstanding. Our friendship has been all clear sunshine, without the least cloud in its hemisphere. Let me conclude by saying to you, what I have had too frequent occasions to say to my other remaining old friends: 'The fewer we become, the more let us love one another.'"

After the peace was concluded with England, Mrs. Hewson and her children, at Franklin's urging, came to France and stayed several months with him at Passy as his guests, and after their departure he complained: "I have found it very *triste* breakfasting alone, and sitting alone, and without any tea in the evening." Again at his urging they removed to Philadelphia, and Mrs. Hewson was much with him in the last years of his life, and even in his final sickness and death, which she described in a long letter to an English friend, speaking of him as that "Venerable, kind friend, whose knowledge enlightened our minds, and whose philanthropy warmed our hearts."

In France social custom prevented the same intimacy with young girls, and so his feminine friendships in that country were of a very different type. "I now and then hear of your life and glorious achievements in the political way," his sister informed him, "as well as in the favour of the ladies ('since you have rubbed off the mechanic rust and commenced complete courtier') who, Jonathan Williams writes me, claim from you the tribute of an embrace, and it seems you do not complain of the tax as a very great penance." "The account you have had of the vogue I am in here has some truth in it," Franklin answered. "Perhaps few strangers in France have had the good fortune to be so universally popular; but

ELIZABETH FRANÇOISE, COUNTESS D'HOUDETOT.
From a print.

the story you allude to, mentioning 'mechanic rust,' is totally without foundation. But one is not to expect being always in fashion. I hope, however, to preserve, while I stay, the regard you mention of the French ladies; for their society and conversation, when I have time to enjoy them, are extremely agreeable." And he gives us another glimpse of this favor by jokingly writing to an Englishwoman:

> "You are too early, *hussy*, as well as too saucy, in calling me *rebel;* you should wait for the event, which will determine whether it is a *rebellion* or only a *revolution*. Here the ladies are more civil; they call us *les insurgens*, a character that usually pleases them; and methinks all other women who smart, or have smarted, under the tyranny of a bad husband, ought to be fixed in *revolution* principles, and act accordingly."

One of the most admiring of these French ladies was the Countess d'Houdetot, better known to history through the "Confessions" of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Her salon was one of the most famous of Paris, and when his health permitted, Franklin was a fairly regular attendant. In addition, he visited her at least twice in her country home at Sanois, the first visit being made the occasion of a fête, of which a description has been preserved. Upon his arrival, he was handed from his carriage by the countess and welcomed with a verse of her own composition, beginning, "Âme du héros, et du sage." At dinner, with each glass of wine, other verses in his honor were recited or sung by each of the guests, and the meal being over, the company went to the garden, where Franklin, at the request of his hostess, planted a Virginia locust-tree, and the countess repeated another verse of her own writing, which was afterward cut in a marble pillar that was placed near the tree. When the hour of departure came, Franklin was reconducted by the whole company to his carriage, and before the door was shut, the countess pronounced the following complimentary verse composed by herself:

> " Législateur d'un monde, et bienfaiteur des deux,
> L'homme dans tous les temps te devra ses hommages;
> Et je m'acquitte dans ces lieux
> De la dette de tous les âges."

After his return to America, she begged " My dear Doctor " to " think of me sometimes, of Sanois, the revered tree planted by your hands and which grows on the spot of soil which belongs to me," " where it is so sweet to me to think of you, and to render homage to your virtues and enlightenment, and whatsoever makes you respected by and dear to humanity. This is, as you know, my kind of religion, and you are one of my saints." For herself, she declared that " I preserve the memory of those moments you have so kindly passed there, and with a tender interest I cultivate the memorial you have left there of your transit."

Another well-known salon of which Franklin was a frequenter was that of Mme. Helvétius, by her friends styled " Our Lady of Auteuil." She was the widow of the well-known French scientist, who had left her a large property, which enabled her to give a comfortable home to a French priest and to several cats. " Madame H. appears to have been a very beautiful woman, when young," Miss Adams records; but at the time Franklin knew her "a French lady compared her to the ruins of Palmyra." This may have been the eyesight of her own sex, for she does not seem to have found favor with them, if we may judge from a description written by Mrs. John Adams:

"She entered the room with a careless, jaunty air; upon seeing ladies who were strangers to her, she bawled out, 'Ah! mon Dieu, where is Franklin? Why did you not tell me there were ladies here?' You must suppose her speaking all this in French. 'How I look!' said she, taking hold of a chemise made of tiffany, which she had on over a blue lute-string, and which looked as much upon the decay as her beauty, for she was once a handsome woman; her hair was frizzled; over it she had a small straw hat, with a dirty gauze half-handkerchief round it, and a bit of dirtier gauze than ever my maids wore was bowed on behind. She had a black gauze scarf thrown over her shoulders. She ran out of the room; when she returned, the Doctor entered at one door, she at the other; upon which she ran forward to him, caught him by the hand, 'Hélas! Franklin'; then gave him a double kiss, one upon each cheek, and another upon his forehead. When we went into the room to dine, she was placed between the Doctor and Mr. Adams. She carried on the chief of the conversation at dinner, frequently locking her hands into the Doctor's, and sometimes spreading her arms upon the backs of both the gentlemen's chairs, then throwing her arm carelessly upon the Doctor's neck.

"I should have been greatly astonished at this conduct, if the good Doctor had not told me that in this lady I should see a genuine Frenchwoman, wholly free from affectation or stiffness of behaviour, and one of the best women in the world. For this I must take the Doctor's word; but I should have set her down for a very bad one, although sixty years of age, and a widow. I own I was highly disgusted, and never wish for an acquaintance with any ladies of this cast. After dinner she threw herself upon a settee, where she showed more than her feet. She had a little lap-dog, who was, next to the Doctor, her favorite. This she kissed, and when he wet the floor she

> wiped it up with her chemise. This is one of the Doctor's most intimate friends, with whom he dines once every week, and she with him. She is rich, and is my near neighbor; but I have not yet visited her. Thus you see, my dear, that manners differ exceedingly in different countries. I hope, however, to find amongst the French ladies manners more consistent with my ideas of decency, or I shall be a mere recluse."

Of this description we get an amusing echo from little Miss Adams, for she confided to her journal: "Dined at Mr. Franklin's by invitation; a number of gentlemen, and Madame Helvétius, a French lady sixty years of age. Odious indeed do our sex appear when divested of those ornaments, with which modesty and delicacy adorn us."

In however much disfavor Mme. Helvétius may have been with women, Franklin was undoubtedly sincere in his admiration, for he speaks of her as his "fair friend at Auteuil," who still possesses "health and personal charms," and he complimented her by asserting that "statesmen, philosophers, historians, poets, and men of learning of all sorts are drawn round you, and seem as willing to attach themselves to you as straws about a fine piece of amber." As for himself, he declared:

> "Mr. Franklin never forgets any party at which Madame Helvétius is expected. He even believes that if he were engaged to go to Paradise this morning, he would pray for permission to remain on earth until half-past one, to receive the embrace promised him at the Turgots'."

"I have often remarked," he wrote her spiritual confessor, "in reading the works of M. Helvétius, that, although we were born and educated in two countries so remote from each other, we have often been inspired with the same thoughts; and it is a reflection very flattering to me, that we have not only loved the same studies, but, as far as we have mutually known them, the same friends, and *the same woman.*" To Cabanis, too, who at one time was her guest, he wrote letters,

MME. HELVÉTIUS.
From a miniature in the possession of M. Alfred Dutens.

"to be shown to Madame Helvétius," couched in terms that to-day would be deemed insultingly suggestive, but which then seemed to be thought the height of gallantry.

Although the fact that the widow kept in her bedroom, "upon a table, under a glass," "a monument erected to the memory of her husband, over which hung his picture, which was very handsome," should have warned the philosopher, he none the less sought to win her love, and his letter pleading a reversal of her negative is one of the most amusing he ever penned:

"Mortified at the barbarous resolution pronounced by you so positively yesterday evening, that you would remain single the rest of your life as a compliment due to the memory of your husband, I retired to my chamber. Throwing myself upon my bed, I dreamt that I was dead, and was transported to the Elysian Fields.

"I was asked whether I wished to see any persons in particular; to which I replied that I wished to see the philosophers. 'There are two who live here at hand in this garden; they are good neighbors, and very friendly towards one another.' —'Who are they?'—'Socrates and Helvétius.'—'I esteem them both highly; but let me see Helvétius first, because I understand a little French, but not a word of Greek.' I was conducted to him; he received me with much courtesy, having known me, he said, by character, some time past. He asked me a thousand questions relative to the war, the present state of religion, of liberty, of the government in France. 'You do not inquire, then,' said I, 'after your dear friend, Madame Helvétius; yet she loves you exceedingly. I was in her company not more than an hour ago.' 'Ah,' said he, 'you make me recur to my past happiness, which ought to be forgotten in order to be happy here. For many years I could think of nothing but her, though at length I am consoled. I have taken another wife, the most like her that I could find; she is not indeed altogether so handsome, but she has a great fund of wit and good sense, and her whole study is to please me. She is at this moment gone to fetch the best nectar and ambrosia to regale me; stay here awhile and you will see her.' 'I perceive,' said I, 'that your former friend is more faithful to you than you are to her; she has had several good offers, but has refused them all. I will confess to you that I loved her extremely; but she was cruel to me, and rejected me peremptorily for your sake.' 'I pity you sincerely,' said he, 'for she is an excellent woman, handsome and amiable.' . . . As he finished these words the new Madame Helvétius entered with the nectar, and I recognized her immediately as my former American friend, Mrs. Frank-

> lin! I reclaimed her, but she answered me coldly: 'I was a good wife to you for forty-nine years and four months, nearly half a century; let that content you. I have formed a new connection here, which will last to eternity.'
>
> "Indignant at this refusal of my Eurydice, I immediately resolved to quit those ungrateful shades, and return to this good world again, to behold the sun and you! Here I am; let us *avenge ourselves!*"

The lady was, however, unpersuadable; yet the friendship suffered no diminution, and after Franklin returned to America she welcomed increase of years, because "we shall meet the sooner and the sooner shall we find one another with all we have loved, I a husband and you a wife, but I believe that you, who have been a rogue [*coquin*], will find more than one!"

Another Frenchwoman to whom Franklin offered more than his friendship was a Mme. Brillon; and it is easy to believe him as genuinely attracted, for she was not merely young, but Miss Adams reports her as "one of the handsomest women in France." Moreover, Mme. Brillon was married to a man far older than herself, who yet was not faithful to her; and she was perfectly open to Franklin about her marital unhappiness.

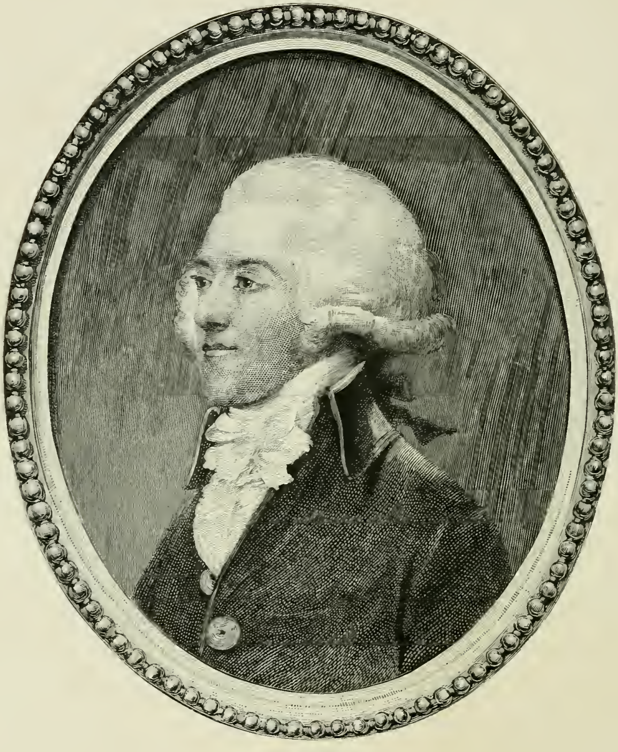
> "My father," she confided to him, "marriage in this country is made by weight of gold. On one end of the scale is placed the fortune of a boy, on the other that of a girl; when equality is found the affair is ended to the satisfaction of the relatives; one does not dream of consulting taste, age, congeniality of character; one marries a young girl whose heart is full of youth's fire and its cravings, to a man who has used them up; then one exacts that this woman be virtuous—my friend, this story is mine, and of how many others! I shall do my best that it may not be that of my daughters, but alas, shall I be mistress of their fate?"

Indeed, had not her adopted parent been a man of over seventy, the conditions were all in favor of one of the so-called romances so common in France; and there is no doubt that, despite his years, he would have been willing to have had it so. But, though Mme. Brillon gave Franklin "my word of honor that I will be your wife in Paradise, on condition that you do not ogle the maidens too much while waiting for me," she assured him that in this world "I shall always be a gentle and virtuous woman," and, continuing, she begged him not to tempt her further, but to "try to make me a strong one: perhaps this miracle is reserved for you."

> "I had a father," she told him, "the kindest of men, he was my first, and my best friend; I lost him untimely! you have often said to me; *could I not take the place of those whom you regret;* and you told me the custom of certain savages who adopt the prisoners that they capture in war, and make them take the place of the relatives whom they lose; you took in my heart the place of the father whom I so loved, and respected; the cruel grief I felt in his loss, is changed to a gentle melancholy which is dear to me and which I owe to you; in me you have gained another child, another friend; I commenced by having for you the worship that all the world owes to a great man; and I had a curiosity to see you, my pride was flattered to receive you in my own house; next I only saw in you your soul responsive to affection, your goodness, your simplicity; and I said, this man is so good he will love me, and I began to love you much so that you might do the same to me."

In good faith Franklin accepted the friendship she was willing to give, and the two saw much of each other, it becoming his regular custom to spend two evenings in the week with her, when she entertained him "with little concerts, a cup of tea, and a game of chess." Very frequently her ill health compelled a suspension of these, and then they corresponded, Franklin writing a number of his most charming bagatelles solely for the invalid's amusement. One amusing glimpse of the manners of the times is to be found in an apology he made her. Having received news that she was confined by her ailment, though he himself was suffering from the gout, he sent her word that "I shall betake myself to your house, my dear girl, to-morrow morning with great pleasure; and if you cannot come down without difficulty, perhaps I shall be strong enough to climb your stairway; the wish to see you will give me more strength." Interest in chess, however, made him forget that he was calling upon a weak woman, and so, "On reaching home I was surprised to find that it was almost eleven o'clock. I fear that by forgetting all else in our too great absorption in the game of chess, we have greatly incommoded you by detaining you so long in the bath. Tell me, my dear friend, how you are this morning. Never hereafter shall I consent to begin a game in your bath room. Can you forgive me this indiscretion?" In reply, Mme. Brillon assured him:

"My good papa, your visits never caused me any inconvenience, all those around me respect you, love you, and think themselves honored in the friendship you have granted us; I told you that the world criticized the sort of familiarity which existed among us, because I was warned of it; I despise slanderers and am at peace with myself, but that is not enough, one must submit to what is called *propriety:* (that word varies in each century, in each country!) to sit less often on your knees. I shall certainly love you none the less, nor will our



WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN, 1790.
Grandson of Benjamin Franklin.

From the original painting in the Trumbull collection of the Yale School of Art, New Haven, Conn.

> hearts be more or less pure, but we shall close the mouth of the malicious, and it is no slight thing even for the sage, to make them silent."

Then, as if feeling that she must hold out a pleasanter prospect, she further wrote: "I think about our arrangements in paradise, perhaps you will be allowed a little more freedom towards me, if by good luck the angels are not corrupted by the spinsters as I fear greatly; everywhere morals are so bad—do you know, my dear papa, that people have criticized my pleasant habit of sitting on your lap, and yours of asking me for what I always refuse: one sees harm in everything in this miserable country." It is pleasant to record that among these malicious people M. Brillon was not included, for he maintained an intimate friendship with Franklin, and on one occasion wrote him: "You have surely just kissed my wife, my dear Doctor; permit me to return it to you."

However platonic the relation might be in the eyes of Mme. Brillon, Franklin was now and then called upon to apologize for or extenuate what she styled "that gaiety, that gallantry which makes all women love you."

> "What a difference, my dear friend, between you and me!" he said. "You find in me innumerable faults while in you I only see one; (but this perhaps is the fault of my spectacles) I mean that kind of avarice which makes you monopolize all my affection; and not to permit me any towards the charming ladies of your country. You imagine that my affection can not be divided without being diminished? You are mistaken; and you forget the playful way with which you check me; you disclaim and totally exclude all that our love might have of fleshly in permitting me only some courteous and virtuous

salutes, such as you might give to some little cousins; how much do I benefit from it then that I may not do as much to others without lessening what belongs to you?"

"You have taught me to know and to practise a wicked sin which we call jealousy," she replied; but that this was a playful assertion is shown by her telling him on one occasion to "Give this evening to my amiable rival, M$^{\text{de}}$ Helvétius, kiss her for yourself and for me"; and, upon another, by granting him a "power of attorney to kiss for me until my return, whenever you see them, my two neighbors Le Veillard and my pretty neighbor Caiollot." Furthermore, when Mme. Helvétius, after Franklin's departure for America, exclaimed to her, "Ah, that great man, that poor, dear man, we shall see him no more!" Mme. Brillon retorted, "It is entirely your fault, madame."

Yet, if thus willing to share his society with other women, Mme. Brillon eagerly craved his companionship. "Come to-morrow to take tea, come every Wednesday and Saturday, come as often as you wish, my heart calls you, expects you, is attached to you for life," she besought him; and again she took him to task because "You pass a Wednesday then without me actually? and you will say after that, *I love you furiously in excess;* and I, my good papa, who do not love you *furiously*—but very *tenderly*, not, *in excess;* I love you enough to be sorry not to see you every time it is possible to me or to you; which loves the more, and the better of us twain?" Yet a third time she wrote: "To-morrow I expect my good papa, the pleasure of seeing him increases my well-being; and makes me forget my ills when I am sick: if papa sometimes sees me melancholy, he knows that that is the habit, the tendency, of tender hearts; he may say, she amuses me less than another woman; but I flatter myself that my papa will add, she loves me better, she alone, than all the other women put together; farewell to you whom my heart loved from the first instant of our acquaintance; until to-morrow; and any day that your friendship will spare to your daughter." When at last the time came for Franklin to return to America, she made him a really touching farewell:

> "I had so full a heart yesterday in leaving you that I feared for you and myself a grief stricken moment which could only add to the pain which our separation causes me, without proving to you further the tender and unalterable affection that I have vowed to you for always: every day of my life I shall recall that a great man, a sage, was willing to be my friend, my wishes will follow him everywhere, my heart will regret him incessantly, incessantly I shall say, I passed eight years with doctor Franklin, they have flown and I shall see him no more! nothing in the world could console me for this loss, except the thought of the peace and happiness that you are about to find in the bosom of your family."

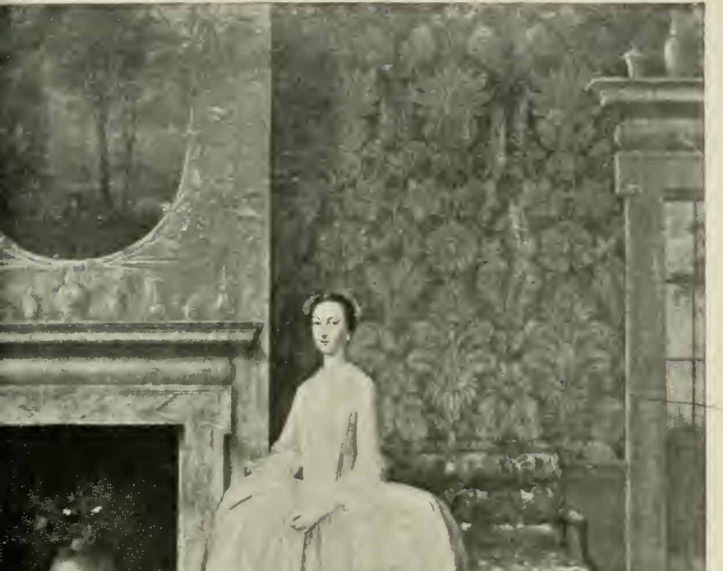
Another attachment and another disappointment are told of by John Adams, who, writing of a daughter of M. de Boulainvilliers who was styled "Mademoiselle de Passy, and was certainly one of the most beautiful young ladies I ever saw in France," said:

> "Mr. Franklin, who at the age of seventy odd had neither lost his love of beauty nor his taste for it, called Mademoiselle de Passy his favorite, and his flame, and his love, which flattered the family, and did not displease the young lady. After the Marquis [de Tonnerre] had demanded Mademoi-

selle for a wife, and obtained her, Madame de Chaumont, who was a wit, the first time she saw Franklin, cried out, 'Hélas! tous les conducteurs de Monsieur Franklin n'ont pas empêché le tonnerre de tomber sur Mademoiselle de Passy.'"

As Franklin had tried to arrange matches for both his son and daughter, so he endeavored in these years in France to make a match between his grandson, William Temple, and a daughter of Mme. Brillon; but the parents, "though it would be dear to my heart and very agreeable to M. Brillon to have been able to form a union which would make us but one family," and though "we love your son and believe he has everything required to make a distinguished man, and to make a woman happy," refused their consent, because "we must have a son-in-law who can be in a condition to fill my husband's place," and "a man of our religion." "Let us love one another," she advised, "and try to forget a plan which to remember would only cause regrets, or never to recall it save to be still more sure, if it be possible, of the esteem and friendship we all have for each other." Apparently Franklin, the philosopher, was doomed to failure as a match-maker, though his advocacy of marriage was so well known that his own daughter wrote him: "As I know my dear Papa likes to hear of weddings, I will give him a list of my acquaintance that has entered the matrimonial state since his departure."

Turning from these half-romances, it is pleasant to find him doing what he could for women for whom there could be neither sentiment nor friendship. To Sarah Randolph, widow of the loyalist, who wrote



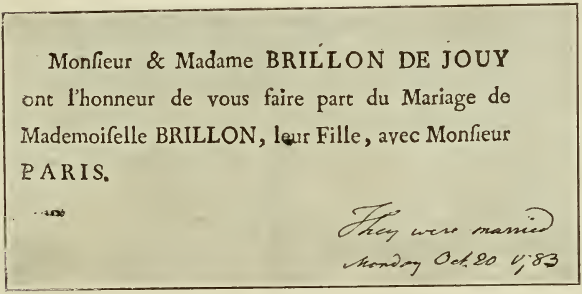
LADY JULIANA PENN.

From a photograph by H. H. Hay Cameron, of portrait by Peter Van Dyke, in the possession of the Earl of Ranfurly.

to him from the Deptford poorhouse, he sent money to relieve her from the worst of her distress. A more striking service still was for the widow of an old personal enemy. In his political career in Pennsylvania he had no bitterer antagonists than Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietors of Pennsylvania, who had fought him with every known weapon; but after the Revolution, when Lady Juliana Penn appealed to him, begging "his assistance and protection in the recovery of the rights and possessions of an unfortunate family who have so heavily felt the misfortunes of this war, and who are likely still to be dreadful sufferers . . . And in confidence of your well known wisdom & generosity I adopt you for the guardian of William Penn's grandchild," he did not fail her, but did what he could to obtain a restoration of the Penn lands to that family.

A glance in closing at Franklin's views on women in general is worth taking. How he advised that they be taught accounts has been already noted; and he had his own daughter instructed in French and music, though he grieved that she should not be "a little more careful of her spelling." To an Englishman he boasted that American women could converse upon most subjects, even while he told his wife that "You are very prudent not to engage in party disputes. Women should never meddle with them, except in endeavours to reconcile their husbands, brothers, and friends, who happen to be of contrary sides. If your sex keep cool, you may be a means of cooling ours the sooner, and restoring more speedily that social harmony among fellow-citizens that is so desirable after long and bitter dissensions." Miss Adams states that "He told me he preferred an English lady who had acquired the graces of French manners; which, he added, were to be gained no where but at Paris—that was the centre, and there they were all collected and resided. I believe he was here right; there is a something not to be defined, that the French women possess, which, when it ornaments and adorns an English lady, forms something irresistibly charming." Perhaps these views account for Poor Richard's groan:

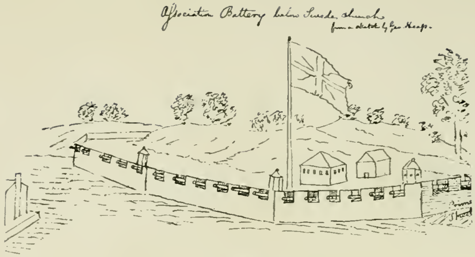
> "Ist not enough plagues, wars and famines rise
> To lash our crimes, but must our wives be wise?"



Monſieur & Madame BRILLON DE JOUY ont l'honneur de vous faire part du Mariage de Mademoiſelle BRILLON, leur Fille, avec Monſieur PARIS.

They were married
Monday Oct. 20 1783

FRANKLIN'S INVITATION TO THE MARRIAGE OF MLLE. BRILLON, TO WHOM HE HAD WISHED TO MARRY HIS GRANDSON.
(The indorsement is in Franklin's handwriting.)


Aſsociation Battery below Swedes church
from a sketch by Geo Heap.

ASSOCIATION BATTERY.
From an original sketch in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

VIII

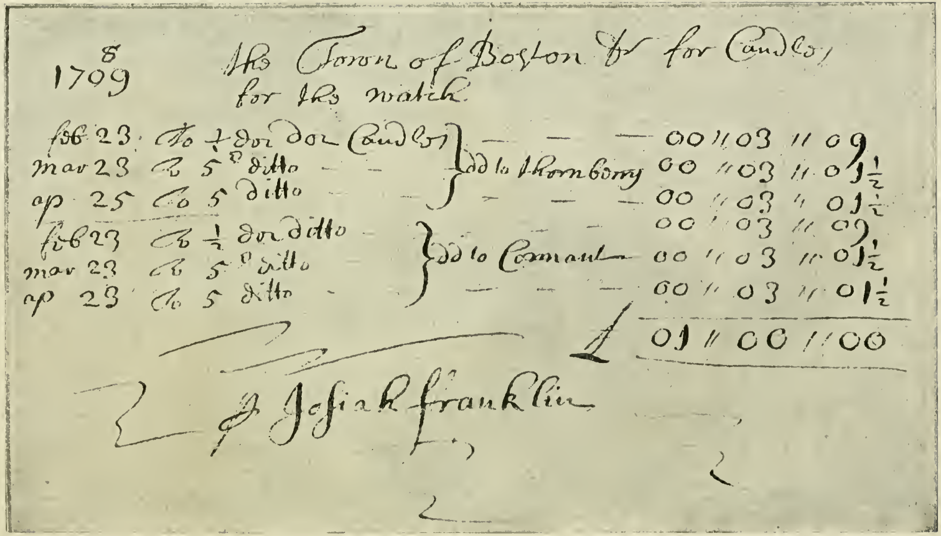
JACK OF ALL TRADES

THE career of Franklin teaches very strongly that general ability, rather than special aptitude, is the quality most potent in winning success; for it is impossible not to conclude that he possessed elements which would have raised him, even had his lot been other than what it was. Several times in his life he changed his vocation or interests, but never with apparent loss, and the main impression that his life leaves on the student is that he was not merely multidexterous, but multiminded.

Franklin came of a working family, and "my elder brothers," he states, "were all put apprentices to different trades." He himself, when ten years old, was taken from school "to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and sope-boiler, a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dying trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for the candles, filling the dipping mold and the molds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc." The lad did not take kindly to the work, and "had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it"; so Benjamin worked on for two years, "destined," he feared, to become a tallow-chandler. "But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father was under apprehension that if he did not find one more agreeable I should break away and get to sea, as his son Josiah had done, to his great vexation." The desire for a sailor's life was short-lived, for when, at sixteen, he ran off, he states that "my inclinations for the sea were by this time worn out, or I might now have gratify'd them." Nor did a longing for it ever recur. On his first visit to England he found, so he chronicles, the voyage "not a pleasant one, as we had a good deal of bad weather," and on the return trip he saw cause for congratulation at "having happily completed so tedious and dangerous a voyage."

Once convinced that his son would not contentedly accept his own handicraft, Josiah Franklin set to work to find out one more suited to his predilection.

> "He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. . . . My father at last fixed



1708/9 The Town of Boston Dr for Candles for the watch

feb 23	To ½ doz doz Candles	dd to Thornborry	— — —	00 // 03 // 09
mar 23	To 5 lb ditto			00 // 03 // 01½
ap 25	To 5 ditto		— — —	00 // 03 // 01½
feb 23	To ½ doz ditto	dd to Cormant	— —	00 // 03 // 09
mar 23	To 5 lb ditto			00 // 03 // 01½
ap 23	To 5 ditto		— — —	00 // 03 // 01½
			£	01 // 00 // 00

p Josiah franklin

A BILL OF JOSIAH FRANKLIN FOR CANDLES.

In the Boston Public Library.

upon the cutler's trade, and my uncle Benjamin's son Samuel, who was bred to that business in London, being about that time established in Boston, I was sent to be with him some time on liking. But his expectations of a fee with me displeasing my father, I was taken home again."

Eventually, as already recorded, the boy of twelve was apprenticed to printing. Yet, though he considered it from henceforth his special calling, and was ever proud of it, he was at moments easily led away to other vocations, and as soon as he was able he retired from all active plying of the "art and mystery," save as an occasional pastime, giving his time and attention to other occupations.

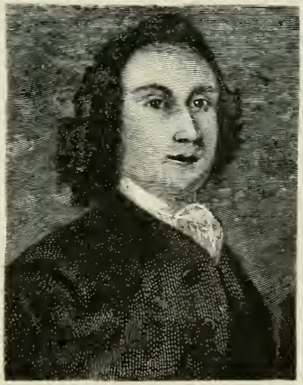
The first inclination to change was during his early London visit. He relates that in the printing-office he was jocosely called the "Water-American," because he preferred that beverage to beer; but the title might more appropriately have been given him because of his extreme liking for aquatics. "I learned early to swim well," he declared, "ever delighted with this exercise," and as a child "practis'd all Thevenot's motions and positions, added some of my own, aiming at the graceful and easy as well as at the useful." Late in life he wrote: "When I was a boy I made two oval palettes, each about ten inches long and six broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it fast in the palm of my hand. They much resembled a painter's palettes. In swimming I pushed the edges of these forward, and I struck the water with their flat surfaces as I drew them back. I remember I swam faster by means of these palettes, but they fatigued my wrists." In another reminiscence he tells of a second boyish device:

> "I amused myself one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the string to a stake and the kite ascended to a very considerable height above the pond while I was swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and enjoying at the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned, and loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, went again into the water, where I found that, lying on my back and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond, to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course and resist its progress when it appeared that, by following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occasionally I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is still preferable."

This skill in the water remained with Franklin all through his life. In 1725, going to Chelsea with some gentlemen by water, "in our return, at the request of the company . . . I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfryar's, performing on the way many feats of activity, both upon and under the water, that surpris'd and pleas'd those to whom they were novelties." As a result,

> "I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man I knew only by name, a Sir William Wyndham, and I waited upon him. He had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wish'd to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I

would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but from this incident I thought it likely that, if I were to remain in England and open a swimming school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly, that, had the overture been sooner made me, probably I should not so soon have returned to America."



SAMUEL FRANKLIN.
From the portrait in the possession of Samuel Franklin Emmons, Washington, D. C.

A more notable feat than this swim from Chelsea to Blackfriars was performed by Franklin in his voyage back to America, a few months later, when, in the open ocean, he "leap'd overboard, and swam around the ship to wash myself." There is small wonder, after this exhibition of skill and confidence, that Franklin felt some irritation over an incident which he described to a correspondent only a few months before his death:

"The letter of yours enclosed is from the widow of a Jew, who, happening to be one of a number of passengers, that were about forty years ago in a stageboat going to New York, and which, by the unskilful management of the boatman, overset the canoe from whence I was endeavoring to get on board her, near Staten Island, has ever since worried me with demands of a gratia for having, as he pretended, been instrumental in saving my life; though that was in no danger, as we were near the shore, and you know what an expert swimmer I am, and he was no more of any service to me in stopping the boat to take me in than every other passenger; to all whom I gave a liberal entertainment at the tavern when we arrived at New York, to their general satisfaction, at the time; but this Haynes never saw me afterwards, at New York, or Brunswick, or Philadelphia, that he did not dun me for money on the pretence of his being poor, and having been so happy as to be instrumental in saving my life, which was really in no danger. In this way he got of me sometimes a double joannes, sometimes a Spanish doubloon, and never less; how much in the whole I do not know, having kept no account of it; but it must have been a very considerable sum; and as he has neither incurred any risk, nor was at any trouble in my behalf, I have long since thought him well paid for any little expense of humanity he might have felt on the occasion. He seems, however, to have left me to his widow as part of her dowry."

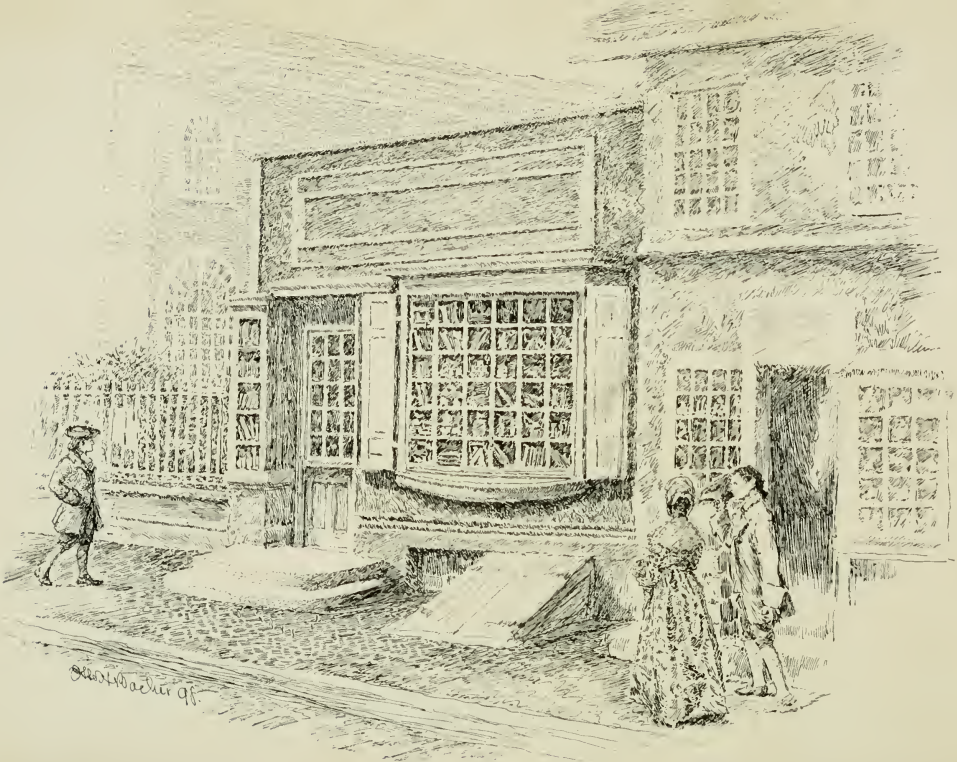
Even in the last years of his life Franklin illustrated his expertness, for at nearly eighty years of age he relates that he "went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt-water hot-bath, and, floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch, without sinking or turning! A thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible." His fondness for water led him to claim that "the exercise of swimming is one of the most healthy and agreeable in the world. After having swam for an hour or two in the evening, one sleeps coolly the whole night, even during the most ardent heat of summer. Perhaps, the pores being cleansed, the insensible perspiration increases and occasions this coolness. . . . I speak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others, to whom I have recommended this."

From becoming a swimming-teacher Franklin was dissuaded by a Philadelphia merchant, Mr. Denham, who induced him as well to leave Watts's printing-office.

> "He propos'd to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, in which he would instruct me, copy his letters, and attend the store. He added, that, as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread, etc., to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and, if I manag'd well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleas'd me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wish'd again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less, indeed, than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect. . . . Mr. Denham took a store in Water-street, where we open'd our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew, in a little time, expert at selling . . . but, in the beginning of February, 1726/7, when I had just pass'd my twenty-first year, we were both taken ill. . . . I forget what his distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended."

Left in the lurch by this loss of position, Franklin returned to printing for a livelihood, with the success already described. But, though his chief trade, it was not his only one, even when he was most actively engaged in it. As a natural adjunct he established a bindery, and took an interest in a paper-mill, his newspaper informing the public that "Ready Money for old Rags may be had of the Printer hereof." "At the time I establish'd myself in Pennsylvania there was not a bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philad'a the printers were indeed stationers; they sold only paper, etc., almanacs, ballads, and a few books. Those who lov'd reading were oblig'd to send for their books from London." This inconvenience Franklin ended by opening a store for the sale of European works, advertising his importations in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," or by the issue of pamphlet catalogues. He also established "a little stationer's shop," where were to be had "Chapmen's books, Ballads; Good Writing Paper; Choice writing Parchment; Cyphering Slates and Pencils; Holmans Ink Powders; Ivory Pocket Books; Pounce and Pounce boxes; Sealing Wax; Wafers; Pencils; Fountain Pens; Choice English Quills; Brass Ink Horns; Sand Glasses; Fine Mezzotints; A Great Variety of Maps; Cheap pictures engraved on Copper Plate of all Sorts of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Fruits, Flowers, &c. useful to such as would learn to draw."

These various commodities the shopkeeper kept in stock, but he would trade in anything in which he could see a chance of profit. Despite his aversion to the business, how he sold consignments of the Franklin "Crown Soap" has already been told; but that was only one of many ventures he took, and the "Gazette" informed its readers from time to time that "the Printer hereof" had for sale such merchandise as:



FRANKLIN'S OLD BOOK-SHOP, NEAR CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

"Very good Sack at 6s per Gallon"; "Glaz'd Fulling-Papers and Bonnet-Papers"; "Very good Lampblack"; "Very good Chocolate"; "Linseed Oil"; "Very Good Coffee"; "Compasses and Scales"; "Seneka Rattlesnake Root, with directions how to use it in the Pleurisy, &c."; "Dividers and Protractors"; "A very good second hand two-wheel chaise"; "A very neat, new fashion'd vehicle, or four wheel'd chaise, very convenient to carry weak or other sick persons old or young"; "Good Rhode Island Cheese and Cod Fish"; "Quadrants"; "Fore staffs"; "Nocturnals"; "Mariners Compasses"; "Season'd Merchantable Boards"; "Coarse and fine edgings"; "Fine broad Scarlet Cloth, fine broad black Cloth, fine white Thread Hose, and English Sale Duck"; "Very good Iron Stoves"; "A Large Horse fit for a Chair or Saddle"; "The True and Genuine Godfrey's Cordial"; "Choice Bohea Tea"; "Very good English Saffron"; "New York Lottery Tickets"; "Choice Makrel to be sold by the Barrel"; "A Large Copper Still"; "Very good Spermacety"; "Fine Palm Oyl"; "Very good Temple Spectacles"; "A New Fishing Net."

A stranger mode of turning a penny was by a venture now and again in indentured or bond servants, being such immigrants as sold their service for a stated number of years in return for a passage to the colonies. Franklin would occasionally purchase "the time," as the expression then was, of some of these, and then in the columns of his paper would insert advertisements of which the following are samples:

"A Likely Servant Lad's Time to be disposed of. He is fit for Country or Town Business, has four Years to serve, and has been in the Country a Year and a Half. Enquire of the Printer."

"To Be Sold. A Likely Servant Woman, having three Years and a half to Serve. She is a good Spinner."

"To be Sold. A Likely servant lad, about 15 years of age, and has 6 years to serve."

"To be sold, a young Servant Welsh Woman, having one Year and a half to serve, and is fit for Town or Country Service. Enquire of the Printer."

"To be Sold. A Likely Dutch Servant Girl, about 13 Years of Age, and has 5 Years to serve."

"A Likely young Woman's Time to be disposed of, about eighteen Years of Age, fit for Town or Country Business, and can handle her Needle well."

"To be Sold, An Irish Servant Girls Time: She has Three Years and Three Quarters to serve; is young, and fit for Town or Country Business."

A somewhat kindred but more regrettable traffic was one in slaves. Though, due to the Friends, there was a very positive public sentiment in Philadelphia against slavery, and still more against the buying and selling of men, Franklin had too much New England canniness to regard it, and made many a venture in the purchase and sale of negroes, his newspaper informing the public that

"A Likely Young Negro Wench, who is a good Cook, and can Wash well is to be disposed of. Enquire of the Printer hereof."

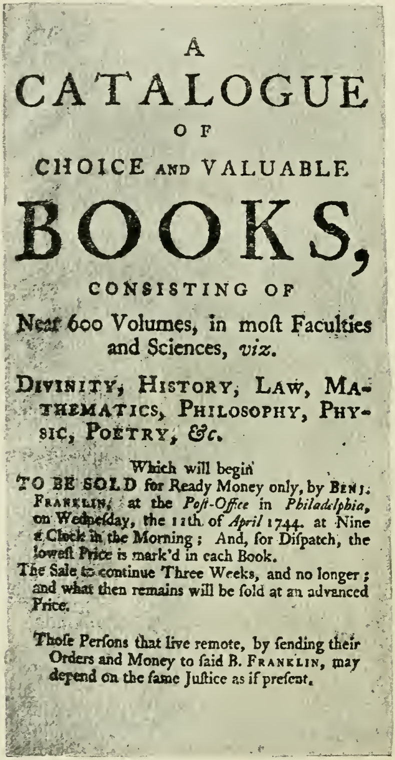
"To be Sold. A Likely young Negroe Wench, about 18 Years of Age, speaks good English, and is fit for either Town or Country. Enquire of the Printer hereof."

"To be Sold. A Likely Molatto Girl, aged about 16 Years, has had the Small Pox, is fit for either Town or Country, to be disposed of very reasonable, enquire of the Printer hereof."

"To be Sold, A Likely young Negroe Fellow, about Twenty-six Years of Age, suitable for any Farming or Plantation Business, having been long accustomed to it and has had the Small-Pox. Enquire of the Printer hereof."

"To be Sold. A Negro Man Twenty-two Years of Age, of uncommon Strength and Activity, very fit for a Farmer, or a laborious Trade, he understands the best methods of managing Horses, and is very faithful in the Employment: Any Person that wants such a one may see him by enquiring of the Printer hereof."

"To be Sold. A Likely Negro woman, with a man-child, fit for town or country business. Enquire of the Printer hereof."



A
CATALOGUE
OF
CHOICE AND VALUABLE
BOOKS,
CONSISTING OF
Near 600 Volumes, in moſt Faculties
and Sciences, *viz.*

DIVINITY, HISTORY, LAW, MATHEMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, PHYSIC, POETRY, *&c.*

Which will begin

TO BE SOLD for Ready Money only, by BENJ. FRANKLIN, at the *Poſt-Office* in *Philadelphia*, on Wedneſday, the 11th of *April* 1744. at Nine a Clock in the Morning; And, for Diſpatch, the loweſt Price is mark'd in each Book.

The Sale to continue Three Weeks, and no longer; and what then remains will be ſold at an advanced Price.

Thoſe Perſons that live remote, by ſending their Orders and Money to ſaid B. FRANKLIN, may depend on the ſame Juſtice as if preſent.

A CATALOGUE.
Owned by T. J. McKee.

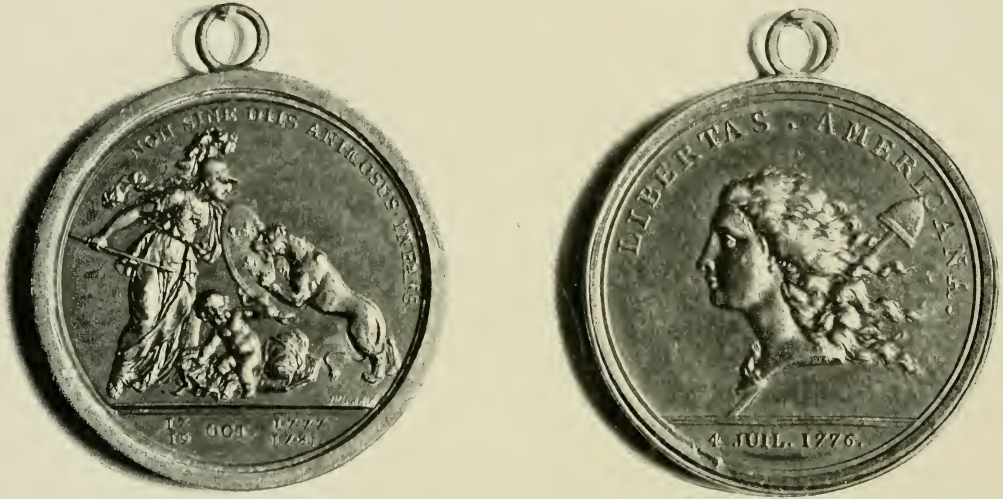
"To Be Sold, A Lusty, young, Negroe Woman, fit for Country Business, she has had the Smallpox, and Meazles. Enquire of the Printers hereof.

"To be Sold. A Prime able young Negro man, fit for laborious work, in town or country, that has had the smallpox: As also a middle aged Negro man, that has likewise had the smallpox. Enquire of the printer hereof: Or otherwise they will be expos'd to sale by publick vendue, on Saturday the 11th of April next, at 12 o'clock, at the Indian-king, in Market-street."

Some of these slaves he procured from New England, where, as population grew in density, the need for them passed, leading to their sale in the colonies to the southward; and there was not always a profit, for Franklin, of one purchase of husband and wife, wrote to his mother: "We conclude to sell them both the first good opportunity, for we do not like negro servants," with a result that "We got again about half what we lost." In spite of this prejudice, Franklin took with him two negro servants to England on his second visit, with slight benefit, for one, who "was of little use, and often in mischief," ran off within a year, and the other behaved only "as well as I could expect, in a country where there are many occasions of spoiling servants, if they are ever so good." "He has as few faults as most of them," the philosopher observed, "and I see with only one eye and hear only with one ear; so we rub on pretty comfortably."

Franklin, as he grew in years, came to disapprove heartily of the whole slave system, and he expressed satisfaction "that a disposition to abolish slavery prevails in North America, that many Pennsylvanians have set their slaves at liberty, and that even the Virginia Assembly have petitioned the king for permission to make a law for preventing the importation of more into the colony." When the initial abolition society in America was formed, he became its president, and his name was signed to the first petition for the abolition of the slave-trade ever sent to Congress, an act which resulted in his being personally vituperated on the floor of that body, less than a month before his death. The debate on this petition drew from him the last public paper he ever penned, in which, with his usual "Socratic" cleverness, he took all the arguments advanced by the favorers of slavery, and by putting them into the mouth of an Algerine, as reasons for continuing the holding of Europeans in bondage, made each one become a reason for ending the system.

As Franklin was an instinctive trader, so he was a natural artisan. "It has ever . . . been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools," he remarks in his autobiography; "and it has been useful to me, having learnt . . . to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not readily be got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind." How he, in his printing-office, contrived molds, made printers' ink, constructed a copperplate press, cut ornaments for the paper money, and in other ways proved that his abilities were not merely intellectual, is told elsewhere. His scientific writings continually describe "little machines that I had roughly made for myself." So, too, though almost wholly without an art instinct, he made diagrams and sketches to illustrate and explain his writings, that prove a fair knowledge of perspective and a distinct knack of fingers.



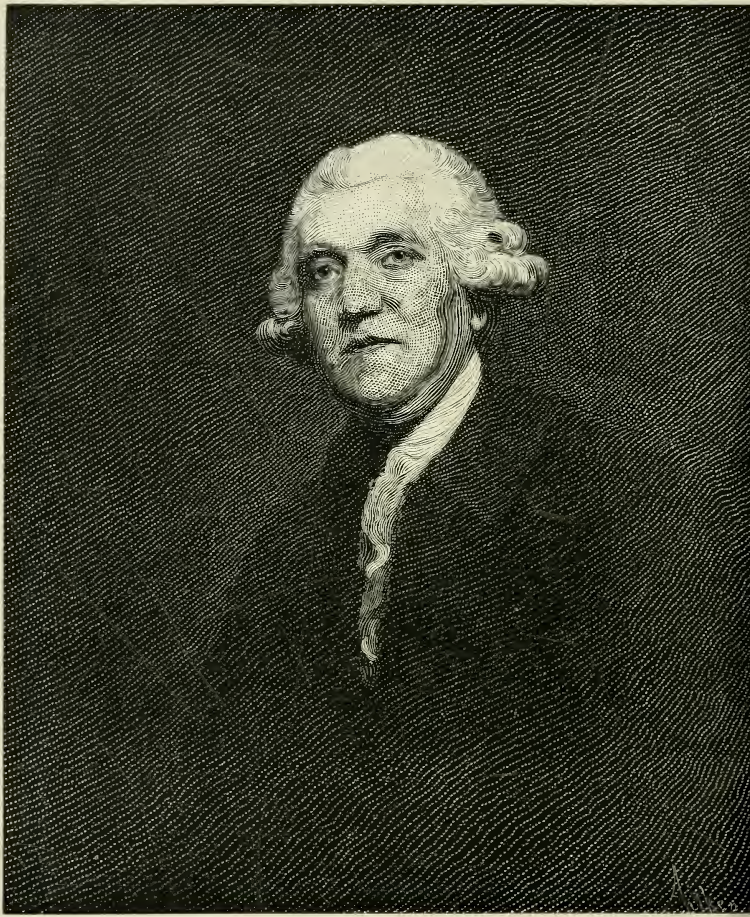
MEDAL COMMEMORATING AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Designed and struck for Franklin in Paris, 1783. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

He even essayed at times to do an artist's work. Long after his retirement from active printing, the Continental Congress secured his aid in the design of their currency, and he not merely sketched the cuts, but having in some of his studies discovered that the veins of leaves, like the lines of the finger-ends, were never alike, he suggested the use of a different leaf for each denomination, thus making counterfeiting difficult. For his "Gazette" he engraved a crude type-metal map of the siege of Louisburg, which, so far as known, is the first attempt of a paper to illustrate news. So in his pamphlet entitled "Plain Truth" he designed and graved a cut of "Hercules and the Wagoner." During Stamp Act times he made a symbolical print which had considerable vogue. While serving in the Continental Congress he was appointed a member of the committee to prepare devices for a great seal, and he suggested "Moses lifting up his wand and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh in his chariot overwhelmed by the waters," with the motto, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God," which was adopted by the committee, but rejected by Congress. In 1782, of his own volition and at his own charge, he had struck after his ideas a medal to commemorate the Revolution, which he reports was "mighty well received, and gives general pleasure" in Paris, and which he hopes will be equally liked in America. A greater service he rendered to art was in selecting Houdon for the execution of the bust of Washington voted by Virginia, and in persuading that sculptor to undertake the commission.

However little of an artist he may have been, a number of his most intimate friends were of that profession, and he shows the interest of a cultivated man in their work. With Benjamin West a friendship was formed in Pennsylvania long before the painter was known as such; when he went to London, Franklin gave him letters of introduction that helped him materially, and the two corresponded on terms of close intimacy during the rest of Franklin's life. To Patience Wright, another American, and the Mme. Tussaud of her day, he gave aid and friendship, and helped her son when he came to Paris as a would-be artist, afterward consenting to sit to him for one of the first portraits the artist ever painted. In London he made the acquaintance of John Flaxman, when his career was but just beginning, and he it was who brought the young fellow to the attention of Josiah Wedgwood. Franklin had early in life become interested in the problem of printing on china, and this served to give him a common interest with Wedgwood, and led to a lifelong friendship with the artist-potter. He even thought himself first in the field in this process, writing an engraver who had sent him some specimens, in reference to the invention:

> "I know not who pretends to that of copper-plate engravings for earthen-ware, and I am not disposed to contest the honor with anybody, as the improvement in taking impressions not directly from the plate, but from printed paper, applicable by that means to other than flat forms, is far beyond my first idea. But I have reason to apprehend, that I might have given the hint on which that improvement was made; for, more than twenty years since, I wrote to Dr. Mitchell from America, proposing to him the printing of square tiles, for ornamenting chimneys from copper plates, describing the manner in which I thought it might be done, and advising the borrowing from



JOSIAH WEDGWOOD. (PAINTED BY REYNOLDS.)
In the possession of Earl Crawford.

the booksellers the plates that had been used in a thin folio, called 'Moral Virtue Delineated,' for the purpose. The Dutch Delftware tiles were much used in America, which are only or chiefly Scripture histories, wretchedly scrawled. I wished to have those moral prints which were originally taken from Horace's poetical figures, introduced on tiles, which, being about our chimneys, and constantly in the eyes of children when by the fireside, might give parents an opportunity, in explaining them, to impress moral sentiments; and I gave expectations of great demand for them if executed. Dr. Mitchell wrote to me, in answer, that he had communicated my scheme to several of the principal artists in the earthen way about London, who rejected it as impracticable; and it was not till some years after that I first saw an enamelled snuff-box, which I was sure was from a copper plate, though the curvature of the form made me wonder how the impression was taken."

It is a curious fact that Franklin, however much a mechanic, and however fertile-minded, left behind him so few inventions of any great value, his lightning-rod and his stove, elsewhere described, being his only important discoveries. Yet, as in his idea of printing on china, many of his imperfect ideas could have been developed into very valuable improvements. How he experimented in stereotyping has already been told. Before Argand invented his lamp, Franklin had conceived the idea of a burner which should supply a column of air in the center. He made an essay with a bulrush, without success, and, according to Jefferson. "His occupations did not permit him to repeat and extend his trials to the introduction of a larger column of air than could pass through the stem of a bull-rush." Yet he seems to have achieved a partial success, for a visitor to his house noted "a lamp, which, with only three small wicks gives a luster equal to six candles. A pipe is introduced into the midst, which supplies fresh and cool air to the lights." Having found an account of a "well known practice of the Chinese, to divide the hold of a great ship into a number of separate chambers by partitions tight caulked," he suggested that the system might with advantage be introduced into shipbuilding, as a safeguard to life and property; but the subject is so briefly dwelt upon as to show that he attached little value to what has since come to be of such consequence. So, contending that "men do not act like reasonable creatures when they build for themselves combustible dwellings, in which they are every day obliged to use fire," he drew up a paper on how houses could be better protected from the risk. When he himself built, he evolved a system tending to the modern fire-proof construction by "a few precautions not generally used, to wit: none of the wooden work of one room communicates with the wooden work of any other room, and all the floors, and even the steps of the stairs, are plastered close."

Of minor improvements Franklin perfected more. He first made, for his own use, the double spectacles with lenses curved for near and far sight. He constructed a clock "with three wheels only, which showed hours, minutes and seconds." Though not the first to make letter-copying presses, he was consulted by Watt, and suggested several improvements which made them more effective. For his own convenience he worked out an artificial arm for taking books from shelves out of reach. In his library, "below the grate, on the hearth, there was a small iron plate or trap-door, about five or six inches square, with a hinge and a small ring to raise it by. When this door or valve was raised, a current of air, from the cellar, rushed up through the grate to rekindle the fire." At the head of his bed "there were two cords; one was a bell-pull; and the other, when pulled, raised an iron bolt, about an inch square, and nine or ten inches long, which dropped through staples, at the top of the door, when shut, and until this bolt was raised, the door could not be opened." In 1787 Washington, as he phrased it in his diary, "visited a Machine at Dr. Franklin's (called a Mangle) for pressing, in place of ironing clothes from the wash, which Machine from the facility with which it despatches business is well calculated for Table cloths & such articles as have not pleats & irregular foldings and would be very useful in all large families." Such are samples of his almost numberless devices and improvements.

An invention not to be passed over was a musical instrument, of which Franklin thought so highly as to believe that it would entirely supersede the piano and harpsichord. In London, during his second visit, Franklin heard a Mr. Delaval, "a most ingenious member of our Royal Society," play melodies by rubbing his fingers upon the edges of glass bowls which had been first tuned "by putting into them water more or less, as each note required." "Being charmed by the sweetness of its tones and the music he produced from it," Franklin set about perfecting the idea into an instrument. He had blown a number of glass halfspheres of different sizes, and these he tuned by grinding away the edge until they were in harmony with the notes of the harpsichord. Having obtained this result, he placed thirty-seven of them, "sufficient for three octaves with all the semi-tones," upon a spindle, which, by means of a wheel and pedal, could be revolved. "This instrument is played upon by sitting before the middle of the set of glasses as before the keys of the harpsichord, turning them with the foot and wetting them with a sponge and clean water, the fingers should be first a little soaked in water, and quite free from all greasiness; a little fine chalk upon them is sometimes useful, to make them catch the glass and bring out the tones more readily. Both hands are used, by which means different parts are played together. Observe, the tones are best drawn out when the glass is turned from the ends of the fingers, not when they turn to them." Franklin named it the armonica, "in honor," so he wrote an Italian, "of your musical language," and claimed that the "advantages of this instrument are that its tones are incomparably sweet beyond those of any other; that they may be swelled and softened at pleasure by stronger or weaker pressures of the finger, and continued to any length; and that the instrument being once well tuned, never again wants tuning." He himself took great pleasure in playing upon it, and an amusing glimpse is obtained of him during his last years by a paragraph of one of his letters, in which he said: "M. Pagin did me the honor of visiting me yesterday. He is assuredly one of the best men possible, for he had the patience to listen to me playing an air on the Ar-

JOHN FLAXMAN. (PAINTED BY GEORGE ROMNEY.)
In the National Portrait Gallery, London.

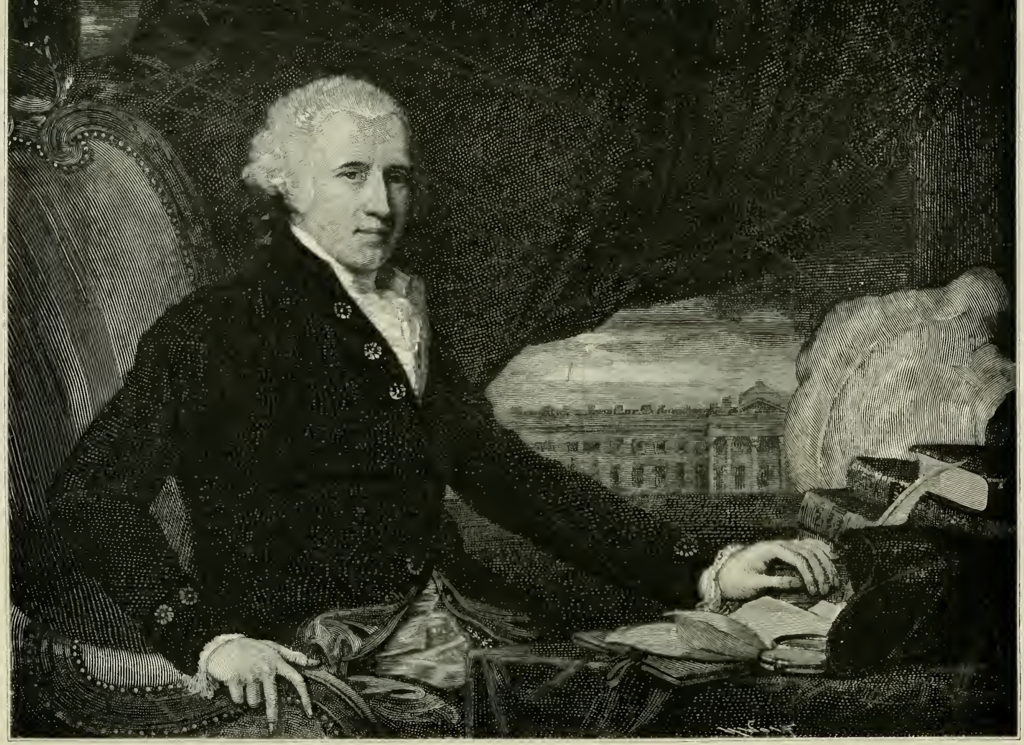
monica, and to hear it to the end." Again, Mme. Brillon, seeking to tempt him to her home, promises that "Father Pagin will play the God of Love on the violin, I the march on the piano, you Little Birds on the harmonica"; and the same writer, in describing their future life in heaven, prophesies that "M. Mesmer will be contented with playing on the harmonica without boring us with electric fluid."

Franklin was a performer on more than the armonica, for, previous to his development of it, he could play on the harp, the guitar, and the violin. Referring to a present, he told the donor that he should "never touch the sweet strings of the British lyre, without remembering my British friends, and particularly the kind giver of the instrument." In France a friend wrote him that he had "searched for harps everywhere without being able to find any," and offers to procure him "a piano forté, if it will supply the place of the harp." This may not have been for his own use, however, for Franklin assured Mme. Brillon that, in the forty years he would probably have in heaven before her advent, he should have time enough "to practise on the armonica, and perhaps I shall play well enough to be worthy to accompany you on your pianoforte"; and in this case "we shall have every now and then some little concerts." He even seems to have turned his hand to composing, for the same lady acknowledged the receipt of "your music engraved in America"; but it has not been possible to identify the piece.

Franklin's taste in music tended to the simple forms. Mme. Brillon's usual bribes, musically, were promises of "carols" and "Scotch airs," and that in this she was trying to please his taste is shown by something he wrote Lord Kames: "The pleasure artists feel in hearing much of [the music] composed in modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope-dancers, who execute difficult things. . . . I have sometimes, at a concert, attended by a common audience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure in them during the performance of a great part that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old Scotch tune, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed on to play, gave manifest and general delight."

"Give me leave, on this occasion," he said in another letter to Kames, "to extend a little the sense of your position, that 'melody and harmony are separately agreeable, and in union delightful,' and to give it as my opinion, that the reason why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live forever (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation, indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *melody*, and only the *coexistence* of agreeable sounds, *harmony*. But, since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between the present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds. Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding emphatical note is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords. I use the word *emphatical* to distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles in common speech, to tack the whole together. . . . The connoisseurs in modern music will say, I have no taste; but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song, distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition, not having this natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass, and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet, I think, even *his* playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament."

The inventing faculty is seldom to be found united with a business one; yet Franklin was not merely a good trader, but a good executive. In 1737 he was offered the position of postmaster of Philadelphia, "accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for, tho' the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improv'd my newspaper, increas'd the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income." His good management of the office led presently to the additional appointment of controller "in regulating several offices," and upon the death of the Postmaster-General, in 1753, he was appointed, jointly with Mr.



BENJAMIN WEST. (PAINTED BY HIMSELF.)
In the Royal Academy.

William Hunter, to succeed him. "We were to have six hundred pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this, a variety of improvements were necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive, so that in the first four years the office became above nine hundred pounds in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us," and before the British government removed Franklin, for political reasons, in 1774, "we had brought it to yield *three times* as much clear revenue to the crown as the postoffice of Ireland." Concerning this loss of place, Franklin felt extremely bitter, writing:

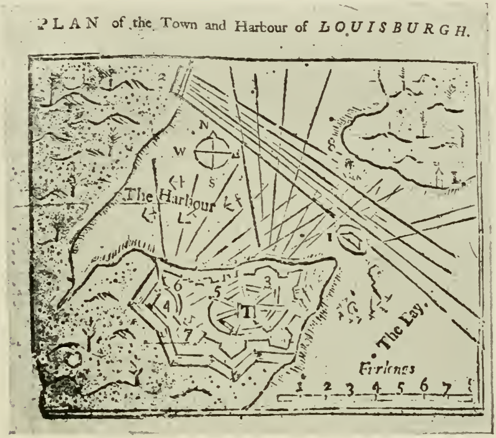
> "I received a written notice from the secretary of the general post-office, that his Majesty's postmaster-general *found it necessary* to dismiss me from my office of deputy postmaster-general in North America. The expression was well chosen, for in truth they were *under a necessity* of doing it; it was not their own inclination; they had no fault to find with my conduct in the office; they knew my merit in it, and that if it was now an office of value it had become such chiefly through my care and good management; that it was worth nothing when given to me; it would not then pay the salary allowed me, and unless it did I was not to expect it; and that it now produces near three thousand pounds a year clear to the treasury here. They had beside a personal regard for me. But as the post-offices in all the principal towns are growing daily more and more valuable by the increase of correspondence, the officers being paid *commissions* instead of *salaries*, the ministers seem to intend, by directing me to be displaced on this occasion, to hold out to them all an example, that if they are not corrupted by their office to promote the measures of administration, though against the interests and rights of the colonies, they must not expect to be continued."

To this position he was promptly reappointed by the Continental Congress when it came to organize its posts, and he held it until he sailed for France. As already noted, Franklin, however well he conducted the business, was over-inclined to distribute the offices among his own family.

Nothing better shows Franklin's versatility and capacity than the services he rendered in the three great wars of his time. His first introduction to military affairs was due to a condition peculiar to Pennsylvania. During the War of the Austrian Succession, although French and Spanish privateers sailed boldly into the Delaware, capturing ships and plundering plantations, plead as the governor of that colony would, the Quakers, who controlled the Pennsylvania Assembly, principled against war, refused to raise troops or fortify the river. Nor would the rich and powerful leaders opposed to that sect do more, their reasoning, according to Franklin, being: "Shall we lay out our money to protect the trade of Quakers? Shall we fight to defend Quakers? No; let the trade perish, and the city burn; let what will happen, we shall never lift a finger to prevent it"; and in genuine indignation he remarked: "Till of late I could scarce believe the story of him who refused to pump in a sinking ship, because one on board, whom he hated, would be saved by it as well as himself." In this condition of affairs, Franklin turned from his presses and made an appeal to those who, like himself, were "the middling people, the farmers, shopkeepers and tradesmen of our city and country," whose interests were forgotten "through the dissensions of our leaders, through mistaken principles of religion, joined with love of worldly power on the one hand; through pride, envy and implacable resentment on the other."

> "I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled PLAIN TRUTH, in which I stated our defenceless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defense, and promis'd to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was call'd upon for the instrument of association and . . . copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upward of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colors, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied. The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declin'd that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then propos'd a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnishing it with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected; . . . the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier."

Franklin found that "My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure wherein their concurrence was thought useful to the association." Calling in the aid of religion, "I propos'd to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking." Having thus appealed to the religious part of the community, Franklin as well devised a means of influencing the people socially. "It is proposed," he told a correspondent, "to breed gunners by forming an artillery club, to go down weekly to the battery and exercise the great guns. The best engineers against Cape Breton were of such a club, tradesmen and shopkeepers of Boston. I was with them at the Castle at their exercise in 1743."



MAP OF THE SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Having made himself so useful, it was natural that with the outbreak of the French and Indian War his services should once more be in demand. In behalf of the Pennsylvania Assembly he was sent to confer with General Braddock, and finding the British commander in straits for teams and pack-horses, he undertook the task of obtaining them for him; with such success that "in two weeks one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses, were on their march for the camp," to accomplish which Franklin advanced out of his own pocket upward of two hundred pounds, and, furthermore, gave his bond for their return or payment according to valuation. He also undertook to aid the general in furnishing him with provisions, "advancing for the service, of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling." Learning that the subaltern officers were having difficulty to obtain a store of provisions for their march through the wilderness, he obtained a vote from the Assembly which furnished each one of them a gift of such supplies as would be of the most value to them. Far more valuable than all this, however, was some unheeded advice he gave Braddock, which is well worth quotation:

> "In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' says he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' Having before revolv'd in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them thro' the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Iroquois country, I had conceiv'd some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventur'd only to say: 'To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction

> to your march is from the ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attack'd by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other.' He smil'd at my ignorance, and reply'd: 'These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplin'd troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.'"

Franklin was no better paid for his aid to Braddock than he was for his advice. "As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay"—claims which gave him infinite trouble, but which eventually he cleared himself of. A credit due on another account, however, was never paid.

The disaster to the British army only served to put further labor on the civilian's shoulders. The Assembly appointed him one of the commissioners for raising and expending money for the defense of the frontiers, and he set about this business with his usual energy. He drew up a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia, and in its behalf wrote a dialogue which had a "great effect"; he planned and carried through a lottery for raising a further sum of money; and this done, "the governor prevail'd with me to take charge of our Northwestern frontier which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, tho' I did not conceive myself well qualified for it." A month on the frontier in the depth of winter served to complete the three forts needed and properly to garrison and provision them, and Franklin returned to Philadelphia to find that he had been chosen colonel of the regiment just completed in that city, which he now accepted.

> "The first time I reviewed my regiment they accompanied me to my house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honour proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken by a repeal of the law in England."

In the Revolutionary War, despite his years, he took an active part. How he was sent as a commissioner to Canada has already been mentioned, and he was one of the committee sent to camp at Cambridge to consult with Washington and "other persons" touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army. For the defense of Philadelphia he "projected" a chevaux-de-frise for the river Delaware, which proved of the utmost value, and well-nigh prevented the British from holding that city in 1777. As another element of protection he superintended the construction of row-galleys. A great scarcity of powder in the early period of the war set him to considering some substitute for firearms; he accordingly designed a pike, and, with a curious lack of his usual good sense, sought by arguments to convince himself and others that the bow and arrow was still a serviceable weapon and missile:

> "1st. Because a man may shoot as truly with a bow as with a common musket.

> "2dly. He can discharge four arrows in the time of charging and discharging one bullet.
>
> "3dly. His object is not taken from his view by the smoke of his own side.
>
> "4thly. A flight of arrows seen coming upon them, terrifies and disturbs the enemies' attention to their business.
>
> "5thly. An arrow sticking in any part of a man puts him *hors du combat* till it is extracted.
>
> "6thly. Bows and arrows are more easily provided everywhere than muskets and ammunition."

Energetically as Franklin worked in war-times, he was a constant advocate of peace. "In my opinion," he more than once reiterated, "*there never was a good war or a bad peace.*" "What repeated follies are these repeated wars!" he exclaimed. "You do not want to conquer and govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another?" "You are near neighbors," he wrote of Great Britain and France, "and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet and to respect each other's rights. You are all Christians. One is *The Most Christian King*, and the other *Defender of the Faith.* Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. 'By this,' says Christ, 'shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.'" He penned a little parable which reveals still more forcibly the unchristianity of war:

> "In what light we are viewed by superior beings, may be gathered from a piece of late West India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De

> Grasse. When, through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs and bodies dead or dying; the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air; and the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another, he turned angrily to his guide and said: 'You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell!' 'No, sir,' says the guide, 'I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call *humanity*.'"

Recognizing men "to be a sort of beings very badly constructed, as they are more easily provoked than reconciled, more disposed to do mischief to each other than to make reparation, much more easily deceived than undeceived, and having more pride and even pleasure in killing than in begetting one another," and therefore half in doubt "if the species were really worth producing or preserving," he none the less did his best to mitigate the horrors of war. He argued in favor of the abolition of privateering, claiming that "the practice of robbing merchants on the high seas" was "a remnant of ancient piracy." In 1783, in the framing of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, he advocated that the misery of war should be henceforth limited to the actual belligerents, and proposed to accomplish this result by an article to the following effect:

> "If war should hereafter arise between Great Britain and the United States, which God forbid, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all fishermen, all cultivators of the

earth, and all artisans or manufacturers unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, who labor for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, and peaceably follow their respective employments, shall be allowed to continue the same, and shall not be molested by the armed force of the enemy in whose power by the events of the war they may happen to fall; but, if any thing is necessary to be taken from them, for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchants or traders with their unarmed vessels, employed in commerce, exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life more easy to obtain and more general, shall be allowed to pass freely, unmolested. And neither of the powers, parties to this treaty, shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading ships, or interrupt such commerce."

The proposition ran so far in advance of public opinion that the British envoys refused even to consider it; but later it was made part of the treaty the American commissioners negotiated with Prussia, and in that form received better appreciation in Great Britain, a leading review asserting that it was "The best lesson of humanity which a philosophical king (Frederick II), acting in concert with a philosophical patriot (Franklin), could possibly give to the princes and statesmen of the earth." In yet another way Franklin was far in advance of his own times, for in maintaining that "All wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous ones," he asked: "When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration?"

Franklin's humanity was not limited to the abstract, and his gifts in charity were frequent. But knowing that aid of this sort could injure as well as benefit, he adopted a system designed to mitigate the evil as far as possible, without lessening the good.

> "As to the kindness you mention, I wish it could have been of more service to you," he told a friend. "But if it had, the only thanks I should desire is, that you would always be equally ready to serve any other person that may need your assistance, and so let good offices go round, for mankind are all of a family."

This method of considering his assistance a loan, and not a gift, is still better shown in a letter to one who had asked his help:

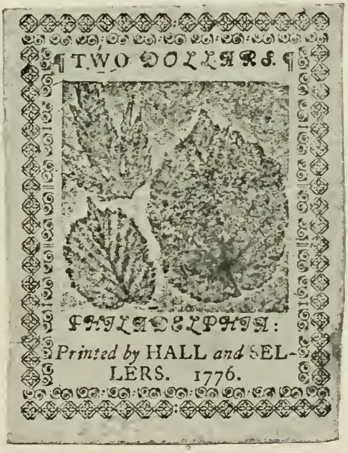
> "I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'ors. I do not pretend to *give* such a sum; I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business, that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation, when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands, before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most of a *little*."

It is interesting to note how far he prospered in a moneyed sense. When he first landed in Philadelphia, "my whole stock of cash consisted in a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper." Very soon he was a peculator to a friend for a debt of twenty pounds he had been empowered to collect, and a little later he ran in debt still more to establish himself as a printer. But once well started, he quickly paid all these claims, and began to lay up money. He was able presently to buy his printing-office, and then a house to live in. How he had his share in a relative's estate divided among his less well-to-do brothers and sisters has been shown, and he left to them also his share in his father's estate, refusing to claim it. When, in 1784, he retired from printing, it was agreed that his partner was to pay him a thousand pounds, currency, a year, and he had moneys loaned on bond and mortgage. In 1767, writing to his wife, he speaks of his financial condition:

> "Since my partnership with Mr. Hall is expired, a great source of our income is cut off, and if I should lose the post-office, which among the many changes here is far from being unlikely, we should be reduced to our rents and interests of money for a subsistence, which will by no means afford the chargeable housekeeping we have been used to. . . . In short, with frugality and prudent care we may subsist decently on what we leave, and leave it entire to our children."

In 1772, during a panic in London, he lent a friend in whom he had confidence five thousand pounds, but was forced to borrow the larger portion from a bank. For several years he was hopeful of securing, with a number of others, a patent for a great tract of land on the Ohio River, a project which only failed by the breaking out of the Revolution, and which would have made him a rich man, had it been completed. He succeeded better in a land grant in Nova Scotia, ultimately worth some three thousand pounds. "Before his departure" for France in 1776, "he put all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds," into the hands of Congress, "which demonstrating his confidence encouraged others to lend their money in support of the cause." The State of Georgia, in recognition of his services, voted him three thousand acres of land, and he also became the owner by gift or purchase of some lands on the Ohio. When he died, his estate consisted of ten houses in Philadelphia, and almost as many vacant lots, a house in Boston, a pasture near Philadelphia and a large farm near Burlington in New Jersey, twelve shares of stock of the Bank of North America, and personal bonds exceeding eighteen thousand pounds, his whole estate being valued at between two hundred and two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Franklin disapproved of public officials having salaries, and in accepting the office of president (or governor) of Pennsylvania, he states that "it was my intention . . . to devote the appointed salary to some public uses. Accordingly, I had already, before I made my will . . . given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, etc.," and by that instrument, wishing "To be useful even after my death if possible . . . to this end, I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia in trust," these sums to be lent at interest "to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens who are willing to become their sureties . . . to assist them in setting up in business." As the funds grew, the surplus was to be expended "in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence." Franklin conceived of these funds eventually reaching millions; but though both cities accepted the gifts, between the strictness of the terms imposed and poor financial management, the trusts have fulfilled only a small part of their testator's wishes, and have proved anew that the philanthropy of the living is better than the philanthropy of the dead.



BACK OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.
Showing Franklin's use of the veining of leaves to make counterfeiting difficult.

ENTRANCE TO LITTLE BRITAIN, LONDON, WHERE FRANKLIN LIVED IN 1726.
From a water-color sketch in the British Museum.

IX

THE SCIENTIST

IN 1752, when Franklin's letters on electricity were translated into French and printed at Paris, the preceptor of the royal family, the Abbé Nollet, "who had form'd and publish'd a theory of electricity," would not "at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to decry his system." Nor was it for some time that he could be convinced "that there really existed such a man as Franklin at Philadelphia." Such a fact serves strikingly to show his position in American philosophy.

It is difficult to discover what first turned Franklin's attention to questions of science, and it seems most likely that it was merely one expression of his appetite for all learning. As a boy in Boston, so his autobiography relates, his brother's paper was aided by "some ingenious men among his friends, who amus'd themselves by writing little pieces"; and from another source it is known that among them was Dr. William Douglas, who ranked high in the colonies for his learning; but the fact that he and his fellow-writers were desperately opposed to inoculation reveals the limits of their intellects, and makes it improbable that the so-called "Hell-fire Club" exerted much of an influence upon the apprentice.

During Franklin's brief sojourn in London in 1725–26 he made the acquaintance of several men of scientific attainments, among others of Dr. Mandeville, author of "The Fable of the Bees," and Dr. Pemberton, the secretary of the Royal Society. An asbestos purse he brought with him from America, and which he offered for sale, secured him the acquaintance of Sir Hans Sloane, who, Franklin relates, "came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury Square, where he show'd me all his curiosities." Pemberton promised "to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extreamly desirous, but this never happened." Thus it is evident that even at twenty Franklin had strong predilections for men and questions of science.

His life after his return to Philadelphia goes as well to prove his interest. Here he "form'd most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club of mutual improvement," which was called the Junto, each member of which, in turn, was required to produce "one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy, to be discuss'd by the company." A few of the questions so propounded and debated are known, and among them are to be found such as: "How may

Peint par M.lle de la Tour.
Gravé par Beauvarlet.

J. A. NOLLET.

the phenomena of vapors be explained?" "What is the reason that the tides rise higher in the Bay of Fundy than the Bay of Delaware?" and "Why does the flame of a candle tend upwards in a spire?" It is not probable that the discussions were of much importance, though Franklin himself asserted that the club "was the best school of philosophy, morality and politics that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention upon the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose."

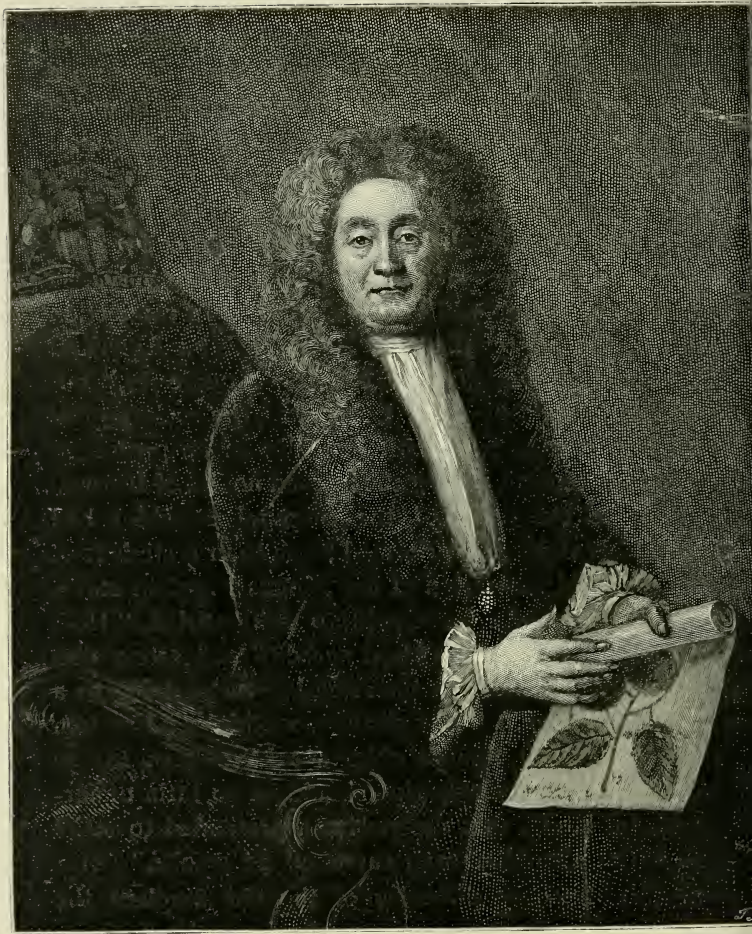
The early years of his printing were too busy ones to let him devote much time to such subjects, but his newspaper supplies an occasional evidence that he was not wholly neglecting them. In the "Gazette," as early as 1732, he wrote "On making Rivers navigable"; a little later "On late Discoveries"; and in 1737 he compiled for his columns an article on the "Causes of Earthquakes," "the late earthquakes felt here, and probably in all the neighboring provinces, having made many people desirous to know what may be the natural cause of such violent concussions." Though his trade prevented him from all research himself, his real interest at this time is well proved by his drawing up a subscription paper to raise an annual fund to enable that "accurate Observator," John Bartram, who "has had a Propensity to Botanicks from his Infancy, and to the Productions of Nature in general," to pursue his "Searches after Vegetables and Fossils," on condition that "he will describe and yearly communicate to the Subscribers" the results.

A. L. LAVOISIER.

From a lithograph.

Out of this subscription grew a far more important project. In 1744 Franklin suggested the formation of a society of those interested in science, and drew up a "proposal," or plan, for such an organization, to which he gave the name of "The American Philosophical Society," offering himself to serve as secretary. His wish was attained so far as the formation, but for many years little was accomplished, and Franklin complained that "the members of our Society here are very idle gentlemen," who "will take no pains." In connection with it, the printer planned "to publish an American Philosophical Miscellany, monthly or quarterly," but this was never achieved. Long after, the society grew into importance, and, with Franklin as its president, came to take rank among the learned bodies of Europe.

Prior to the issue of the proposal Franklin had proved his right to be deemed more than a student of science, by his invention of the famous Franklin stove. One of his queries for the Junto was entitled, "How may smoky chimneys be best cured?" suggesting that very early in his studies his attention was turning to a kindred problem. "It is strange, methinks," Franklin remarked, "that though chimneys have been for so long in use, the construction should be so little understood, till lately, that no workman pretended to make one which should always carry off all smoke." Nor was this the only difficulty of the old fireplace the investigator catalogued. It might have the "conveniency of two warm seats, one in each corner; but they are sometimes too hot to abide in, . . . and the cold air so nips the backs and heels of those that sit before

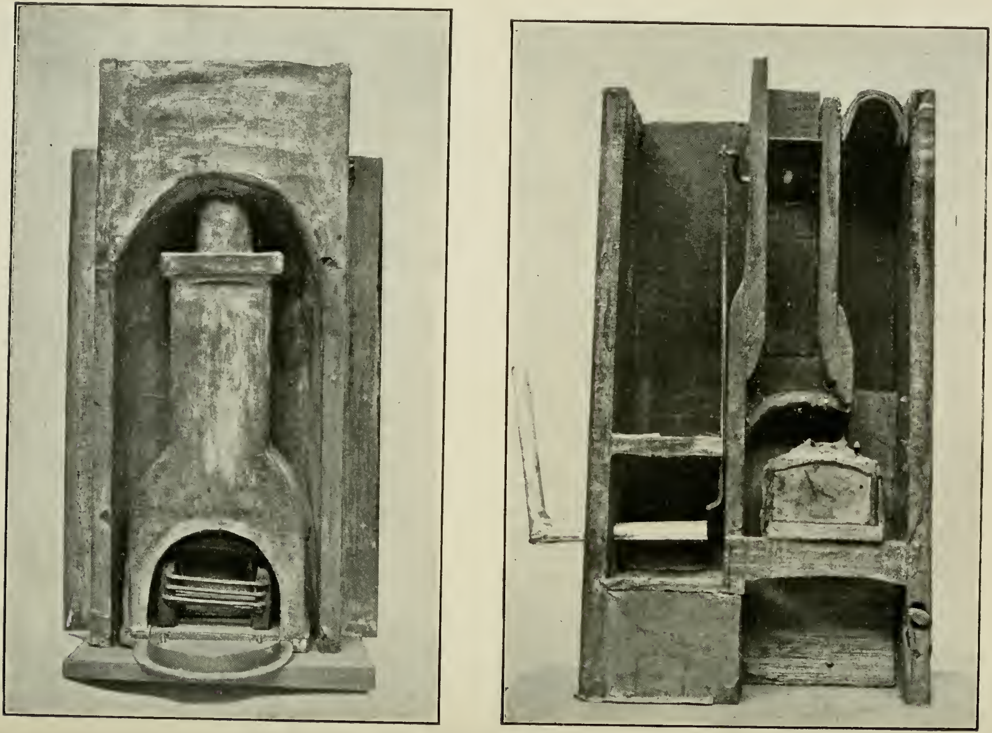


SIR HANS SLOANE.
In the National Portrait Gallery, London.

the fire that they have no comfort till either screens or settles are provided," while "a moderate quantity of wood on the fire, in so large a hearth, seems but little; and, in so strong and cold a draft, warms but little; so that people are continually laying on more. In short, it is next to impossible to warm a room with such a fireplace." As an alternative, a Dutch or German stove could be used; but these had offsetting defects, in that they supplied little or no fresh air to the room, and "there is no sight of the fire, which in itself is a pleasant thing." To combine the advantages and eliminate the defects of the two systems was the task he set himself, and in 1742 he evolved the "Pennsylvania Fire-Place," in which the heat from an open fire, after ascending, was made to descend before escaping through the chimney, and thus was made to heat currents of fresh air as they entered the room. It is impossible to-day to realize what this improvement meant. "I suppose our ancestors never thought," said Franklin, "of warming rooms to sit in; all they purposed was, to have a place to make a fire in, by which they might warm themselves when cold." But with this stove "your whole room is equally warm, so that people need not crowd so close round the fire, but may sit near the window, and have the benefit of the light for reading, writing, needlework, &c. They may sit with comfort in any part of the room, which is a very considerable advantage in a large family." It was accomplished, too, with a great saving in fuel. "I suppose," the inventor claimed, "taking a number of families together, that two thirds, or half the wood, at least, is saved." He himself found that "My common room, I know, is made twice as warm as it used to be, with a quarter of the wood I formerly consumed there." This saving, by his own choice, was all the profit that accrued to him. In his autobiography he says:

> "I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled '*An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fireplaces; wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation is particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them answered and obviated*,' etc. This pamphlet had a good effect. Gov'r Thomas was so pleas'd with the construction of this stove, as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declin'd it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz., *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*
>
> "An ironmonger in London however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, tho' not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fireplaces in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants."

Many years later Franklin invented a second stove, which he believed would be of equal service, constructed



FRANKLIN'S MODEL OF "THE PENNSYLVANIA FIRE-PLACE."

on the principle of the siphon, so that the fire was made to draw downward, thus consuming its own smoke, and which could burn either wood or coal. His first model, in which the coals were held in an ornamental urn, was completed in 1771, and was used by him successfully for several years; but the stove never obtained any general vogue. It, however, supplied the basis of a clever epigram, said to have been written by a Miss Norris, which obtained great currency at the time:

"Like Newton sublimely he soared
To a summit before unattained,
New regions of science explored,
And the palm of philosophy gained.

. . . .

"Oh, had he been wise to pursue
The track for his talent designed,
What tribute of praise had been due
To the teacher and friend of mankind.

"But to covet political fame
Was in him a degrading ambition;
A spark that from Lucifer came
And kindled the flame of sedition.

"Let candor then write on his urn,
Here lies the renowned inventor,
Whose flame to the skies sought to burn,
But inverted descends to the centre."

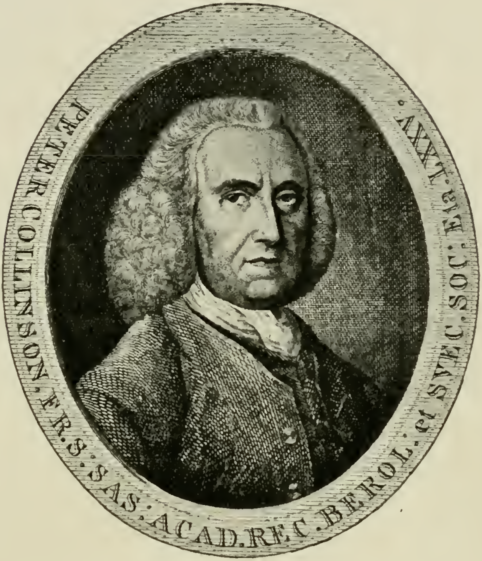
Although it was not announced until some years later, Franklin in 1743 made a discovery which, if not as utilitarian as his stove, bespoke a higher order fo scientific research. In that year he was prevented from observing an eclipse by a storm which obscured the moon. Much to his surprise, he found that though the storm blew from the northeast, yet it had not reached Boston till an hour after the eclipse was over. This set him to studying the movements of the winds, and to the proving of the apparent contradiction that storms travel in an opposite direction from that of the wind. Impossible as this might seem to reconcile, Franklin formed a "conjecture" which is scarcely to be equaled in scientific writing for its clearness, convincingness, and happy use of comparison.

> "Suppose," he assumed, "a great tract of country, land and sea, to wit, Florida and the Bay of Mexico, to have clear weather for several days, and to be heated by the sun, and its air thereby exceedingly rarefied. Suppose the country northeastward, as Pennsylvania, New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, to be at the same time covered with clouds, and its air chilled and condensed. The rarefied air being lighter must rise, and the denser air next to it will press into its place; that will be followed by the next denser air, that by the next, and so on. Thus, when I have a fire in my chimney, there is a current of air constantly flowing from the door to the chimney; but the beginning of the motion was at the chimney, where the air being rarefied by the fire rising, its place was supplied by the cooler air that was next to it, and the place of that by the next, and so on to the door. So the water in a long sluice or mill-race, being stopped by a gate, is at rest like the air in a calm; but as soon as you open the gate at one end to let it out, the water next the gate begins first to move, that which is next to it follows; and so, though the water proceeds forward to the gate, the motion which began there runs backwards, if one may so speak, to the upper end of the race, where the water is last in motion."

It was in 1746 that Franklin's attention was first drawn to electricity. From a long period of neglect the subject had suddenly secured renewed attention by Gray's experiments as to the conductivity of various substances, and Dufay's discovery of what he deemed two kinds of electricity. Close upon these developments came the perfecting of the Leyden jar, and with it the science sprang into instant popularity. Traveling electricians went about all over Europe, exhibiting the phenomena and selling shocks to a half-frightened and deeply interested public.

It was one of these itinerants who set the master printer to studying the mysterious fluid. "Being at Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and show'd me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly perform'd, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surpris'd and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company receiv'd from Mr. P. Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen in Boston; and, by much practice, acquir'd great readiness in performing those, also, which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full, for some time, with people who came to see these new wonders."

There was a quality in Franklin's mind which made it impossible for him not to attempt improvement in whatever he took in hand, and within a year he had ascertained a fact which went far to revolutionize the whole science. Discarding the idea that electricity was a substance created by friction, he maintained that it was "really an element diffused among, and attracted by other matter, particularly by water and metals." He proved that the Leyden jar, no matter how highly electrified, contained no more electricity than it did before it was charged, what was added to one surface being taken from the other. This demonstrated, he brushed aside Dufay's theory of vitreous and resinous electricity, and gave to the world in its stead that of a positive and negative, or, as he sometimes phrased it,

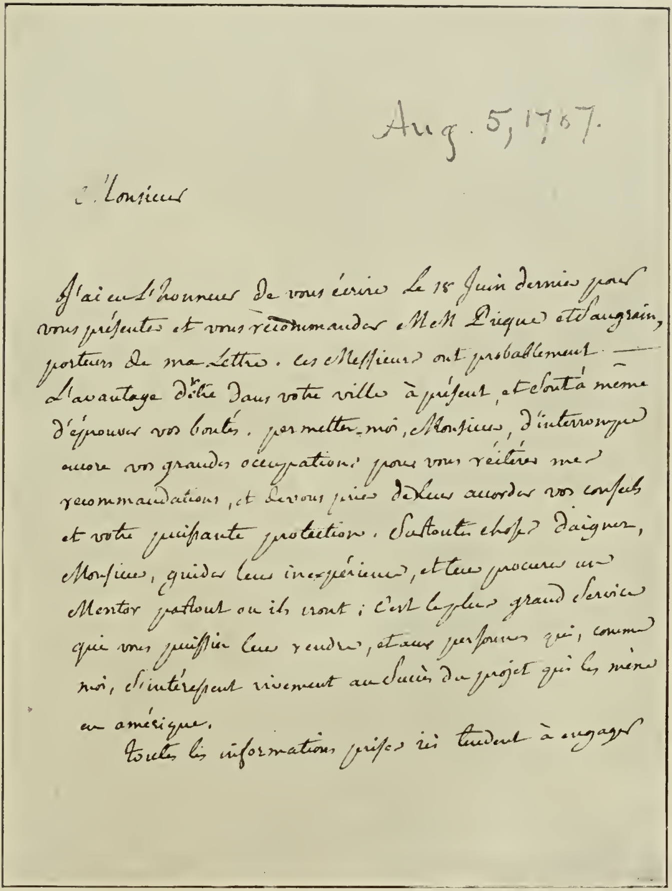

PETER COLLINSON.F.R.S.S.A.S.ACAD.REG.BEROL.et SVEC.SOC.Ela. AXXI.

PETER COLLINSON.
From a print.

of a plus and minus state. Not merely did this account for and explain the great mass of known phenomena, but the beginning of modern electricity may be said to date from the discovery, for by it the mysterious fluid, from being merely a curiosity, became, potentially, a new force or power.

Other investigators had suggested the probable identity of electricity and lightning, and to prove this was Franklin's next undertaking. He first drew up a paper bringing together all the evidence and arguments in favor of the belief; but in his scientific work he was never satisfied with a mere theory, and so he undertook to demonstrate it. Probably his method was suggested to him by an account he received of a certain ship's experience with St. Elmo's fire and a stroke of lightning during a storm. These masthead globes of fire, Franklin argued, were but "the electrical fire . . . then drawing off, as by points, from the cloud . . . and had there been a good wire communication from the spintle heads to the sea, that could have conducted more freely than tarred ropes, or masts of turpentine wood, I imagine there would either have been no stroke, or, if a stroke, the wire would have conducted it all into the sea without damage to the ship."

> "To determine the question, whether the clouds that contain lightning are electrified or not, I would propose an experiment to be tried where it may be done conveniently. On the top of some high tower or steeple, place a kind of sentry-box, . . . big enough to contain a man and an electrical stand. From the middle of the stand let an iron rod rise and pass bending out of the door, and then upright twenty or thirty feet, pointed very sharp at the end. If the electrical stand be

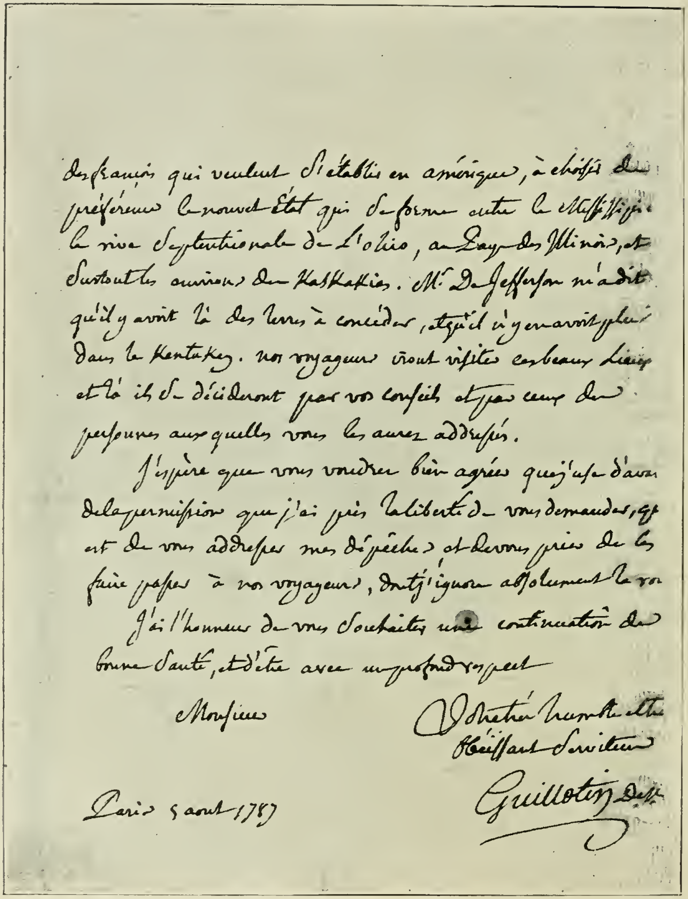


Aug. 5, 1787.

Monsieur

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 18 Juin dernier pour
vous présenter et vous recommander Mess. Pique et Saugrain,
porteurs de ma Lettre. ces Messieurs ont probablement
l'avantage d'être dans votre ville à présent, et sont à même
d'éprouver vos bontés. permettez-moi, Monsieur, d'interrompre
encore vos grandes occupations pour vous réitérer mes
recommandations, et de vous prier de leur accorder vos conseils
et votre puissante protection. Sur toutes choses daignez,
Monsieur, guider leur inexpérience, et leur procurer un
Mentor partout où ils iront ; c'est le plus grand service
que vous puissiez leur rendre, et aux personnes qui, comme
moi, s'intéressent vivement au succès du projet qui les mène
en amérique.
Toutes les informations prises ici tendent à engager

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM JOSEPH-IGNACE GUILLOTIN TO FRANKLIN.



des françois qui veulent s'établir en amérique, à choisir de
préférence le nouvel État qui se forme entre le Mississipi
la rive Septentrionale de l'ohio, au Pays des Illinois, et
Surtout les environs des Kaskaskias. Mr De Jefferson m'a dit
qu'il y avoit là des terres à conceder, et qu'il n'y en avoit plus
dans le Kentukey. nos voyageurs iront visiter ces beaux lieux
et là ils se décideront par vos conseils et par ceux des
personnes auxquelles vous les aurez addressés.

J'espère que vous voudrez bien agréer que j'use d'avance
de la permission que j'ai pris la liberté de vous demander, qui
est de vous addresser mes dépêches et de vous prier de les
faire passer à nos voyageurs, dont j'ignore absolument la ro

J'ai l'honneur de vous souhaiter une continuation de
bonne santé, et d'être avec un profond respect

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très
Obéissant Serviteur
Guillotin D.M.

Paris 5 aout 1787

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM JOSEPH-IGNACE GUILLOTIN TO FRANKLIN.

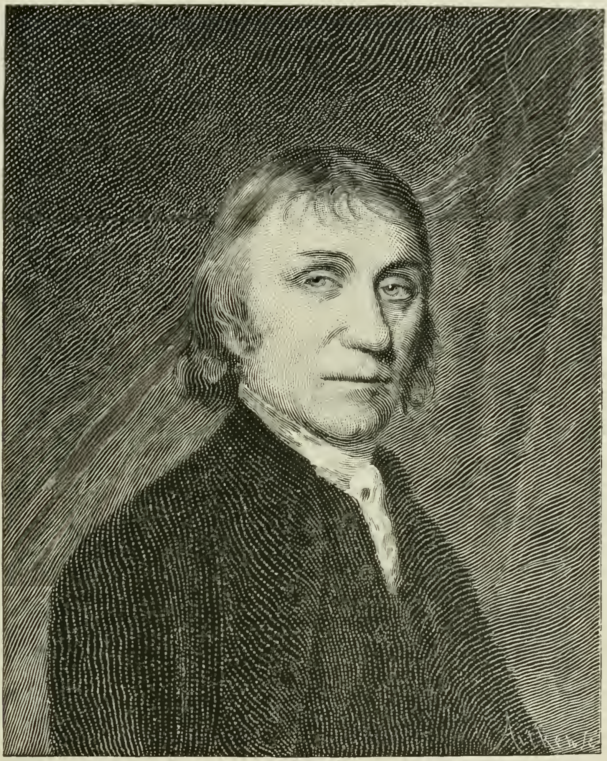
> kept clean and dry, a man standing on it, when such clouds are passing low, might be electrified and afford sparks, the rod drawing fire to him from a cloud. If any danger to the man should be apprehended (though I think there would be none), let him stand on the floor of his box, and now and then bring near to the rod the loop of a wire that has one end fastened to the lèads, he holding it by a wax handle; so that sparks, if the rod is electrified, will strike from the rod to the wire, and not affect him."

Franklin himself was not able to carry out this experiment, because Philadelphia was without a suitable eminence. His suggestion was seized upon, however, by the French savants, Buffon, Dalibard, and De Lor. On a hill at Marly a rod was erected, and on May 10, 1752, "a thunder-cloud having passed over the place where the bar stood, those who were appointed to observe it, drew near and attracted from it sparks of fire, perceiving the same kind of commotions as in the common electrical experiments." Ere Franklin learned of this successful proving of his theory with his method by the French scientists, he could write them that "the same experiment has succeeded in Philadelphia, though made in a different and more easy manner." Then in a purely abstract form he described the mode which so seized the popular fancy:

> "Make a small cross of two light strips of cedar, the arm so long as to reach to the four corners of a large thin silk handkerchief when extended; tie the corners of the handkerchief to the extremities of the cross, so you have the body of a kite; which, being properly accommodated with a tail, loop, and string, will rise in the air, like those made of paper; but this being of silk is fitter to bear the wet and wind of a thunder-gust without tearing. To the top of the upright

stick of the cross is to be fixed a very sharp-pointed wire, rising a foot or more above the wood. To the end of the twine, next the hand, is to be tied a silk ribbon, and where the silk and twine join, a key may be fastened. This kite is to be raised when a thunder-gust appears to be coming on, and the person who holds the string must stand within a door or window, or under some cover, so that the silk ribbon may not be wet; and care must be taken that the twine does not touch the frame of the door or window. As soon as any of the thunder-clouds come over the kite, the pointed wire will draw the electric fire from them, and the kite, with all the twine, will be electrified, and the loose filaments of the twine will stand out every way, and be attracted by an approaching finger. And when the rain has wetted the kite and twine, so that it can conduct the electric fire freely, you will find it stream out plentifully from the key on the approach of your knuckle. At this key the phial may be charged; and from electric fire thus obtained, spirits may be kindled, and all the other electric experiments be performed, which are usually done by the help of a rubbed glass globe or tube, and thereby the sameness of the electric matter with that of lightning completely demonstrated."

Even before the identity of electricity and lightning had been thus established, Franklin outlined his proposal for the protection of buildings. "If these things are so," he argued as early as 1749, "may not the knowledge of this power of points be of use to mankind, in preserving houses, churches, ships, &c from the stroke of lightning, by directing us to fix, on the highest parts of those edifices, upright rods of iron made sharp as a needle, and gilt to prevent rusting, and from the foot of those rods a wire down the outside of the building into the ground, or down round one of the shrouds of a ship, and down her side till it reaches the water? Would not these pointed rods probably draw the electrical fire silently out of a cloud before it came nigh enough to strike, and thereby secure us from that most sudden and



JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.
From a pastel in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

terrible mischief?" It was preëminently Franklinian that he should turn his discovery to a useful purpose before the truth of it was accepted, far less confirmed.

And few inventors have been so directly rewarded, for he relates that:

> "My own house was one day attacked by lightning, which occasioned the neighbors to run in to give assistance, in case of its being on fire. But no damage was done, and my family was only found a good deal frightened with the violence of the explosion. Last year, my house being enlarged, the conductor was obliged to be taken down. I found, upon examination, that the pointed termination of copper, which was originally nine inches long, and about one third of an inch in diameter in its thickest part, had been almost entirely melted; and that its connection with the rod of iron below was very slight. Thus, in the course of time, this invention has proved of use to the author of it, and has added this personal advantage to the pleasure he before received from having been useful to others."

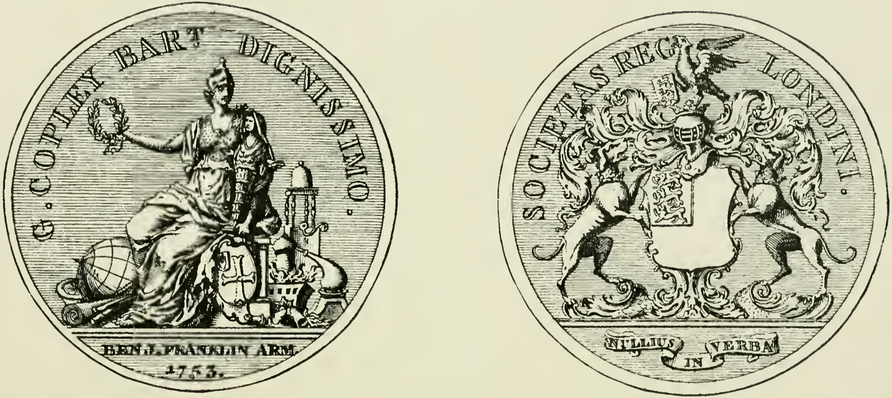
These two most important discoveries of Franklin, as well as his minor experiments, were first made known to Europe by letters he wrote to Mr. Collinson.

> "I thought it right," Franklin said in his autobiography, "he should be inform'd of our success in using it [a glass tube], and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their Transactions. One paper, which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Dr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society, who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, being shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advis'd the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cavé for publication in his *Gentleman's Magazine;* but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cavé, it seems, judged rightly for his profit, for by the additions that arrived afterward, they swell'd

to a quarto volume, which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money. . . . What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messrs. Dalibard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engag'd the public attention everywhere. M. de Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectur'd in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the *Philadelphia Experiments;* and, after they were performed before the king and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I receiv'd in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity.

" Dr. Wright, an English physician, when at Paris, wrote to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The society, on this, resum'd the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject, which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their Transactions; and some members of the society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainting them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honour, they chose me a member, and voted that I should be excus'd the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their Transactions gratis. They also presented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honoured."

Although the use of the lightning-rod, or, as it was then more often called, " Franklin's rod," spread rapidly,


G·COPLEY BART DIGNISSIMO.
BENJ. FRANKLIN ARM.
1753.
SOCIETAS REG. LONDINI.
NULLIUS IN VERBA

COPLEY MEDAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY. AWARDED TO FRANKLIN FOR HIS DISCOVERIES IN ELECTRICITY.

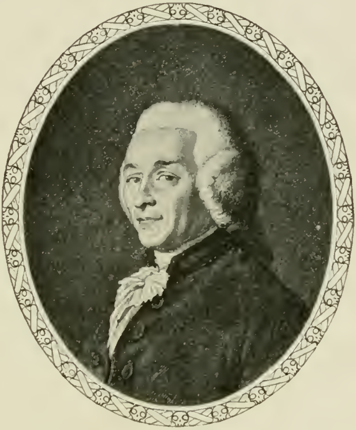
From a print in the "Gentleman's Magazine," December 1753.

there was a strong opposition at first to its employment. John Adams reports one wiseacre who, as late as 1758, "began to prate upon the presumption of philosophy in erecting iron rods to draw the lightning from the clouds. His brains were in a ferment, and he railed and foamed against those points and the presumption that erected them, in language taken partly from Scripture and partly from the disputes of tavern philosophy, in as wild, mad a manner as King Lear raves against his daughters' disobedience and ingratitude, and against the meanness of the storm in joining with his daughters against him, in Shakspeare's Lear. He talked of presuming upon God, as Peter attempted to walk upon the water; attempting to control the artillery of heaven—an execution that mortal man can't stay." More publicly, the Rev. Thomas Prince, ignoring the fact that earthquakes had occurred before the erection of these safeguards, found in them the cause for the shock of 1755, and in a sermon urged that

> "The more *Points* of *Iron* are erected round the *Earth*, to draw the *Electrical Substance* out of the *Air*; the more the *Earth* must needs be charged with it. And therefor it seems worthy of consideration, Whether *any Part* of the *Earth* being fuller of this *terrible Substance* may not be more exposed to *more shocking Earthquakes*. In *Boston* are more erected than anywhere else in *New-England*; and *Boston* seems to be more dreadfully shaken. Oh! there is no getting out of the mighty Hand of God! If we think to avoid it in the *Air*, we cannot in the Earth. Yea, it may grow more fatal."

So late as 1770 it was maintained that "as lightning is one of the means of punishing the sins of mankind, and of warning them from the commission of sin, it is impious to prevent its full execution."

There was a yet stranger controversy over the discovery, long after the general principle had gained well-nigh universal acceptance. A powder-magazine in Europe having been exploded by lightning, the British Board of Ordnance requested the Royal Society to recommend the best method for preserving the arsenals at Purfleet from such a danger. The society appointed a committee of five, of which Franklin was one, to prepare a report, and they recommended Franklin's system. But from this one member, Benjamin Wilson, dissented so far as to advocate the use of blunt, and not pointed, ends to the rods. The latter were adopted, and Wilson, "grown angry," published two pamphlets, so Franklin states, "reflecting on the Royal Society, the committee, and myself, with some asperity." To this Franklin made no reply, for, he explained, "I have never entered into any controversy in defence of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are *right*, truth and experience will support them; if *wrong*, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made, nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them." His friend Ingenhousz, however, took up the controversy, and was, so Franklin laughingly noted, "as much heated about this *one point*, as the Jansenists and Molinists were about the *five*." There the matter would, no doubt, have ended had not a new antagonist entered the field. George III, having good cause to dislike Franklin's political opinions, sought to discredit his scientific ones by ordering the substitution of blunt for pointed ends on Kew Palace. Such was his desire to prove Franklin in error that he asked Sir John Pringle to give an opinion in favor of the change, only to receive the reply that "the laws of Nature were not changeable at royal pleasure." It was then "intimated to him by the King's authority that a President of the Royal Society entertaining such an opinion ought to resign, and he resigned accordingly," at the same time being deprived of his position as physician to the queen, with all favor in court circles, so that he was forced to leave London and live in extreme poverty. Franklin, unwitting of the injury it had brought his friend, asserted that



JOSEPH-IGNACE GUILLOTIN.
From an engraving by F. Bonneville.

the king's action was "a matter of small importance to me," adding: "If I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of Heaven that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects." However the court might side with the king, the wits did otherwise, and one of them produced an epigram well worth quotation:

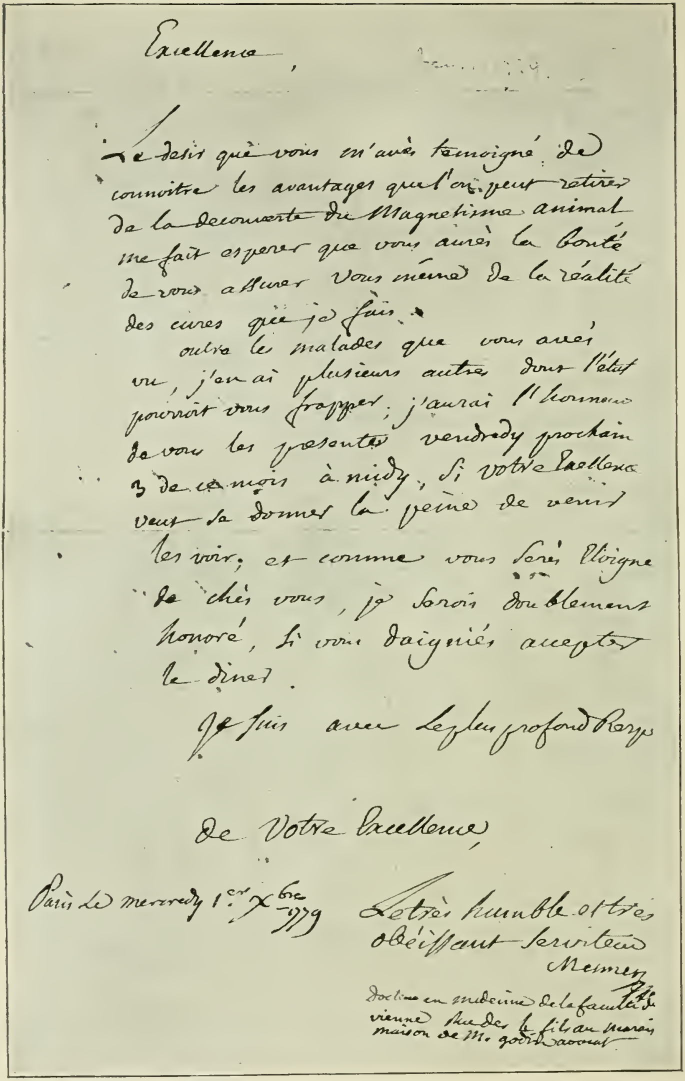
"While you, great George, for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The nation 's out of joint.
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder fearless views,
By keeping to the point."

It is interesting to compare this action of royalty with one of the earliest experiments or tricks in electricity which Franklin attempted, and which he described to Collinson in the following words:

> "The magical picture is made thus. Having a large mezzotinto with a frame and glass, suppose of the King (God preserve him), take out the print, and cut a pannel out of it near two inches distant from the frame all round. If the cut is through the picture, it is not the worse. With thin paste, or gum-water, fix the border that is cut off on the inside the glass, pressing it smooth and close; then fill up the vacancy by gilding the glass well with leaf-gold or brass. Gild likewise the inner edge of the back of the frame all round, except the top part, and form a communication between that gilding and the gilding behind the glass; then put in the board, and that side is finished. Turn up the glass, and gild the fore side exactly over the back gilding, and when it is dry, cover it by pasting on the pannel of the picture that hath been cut out, observing to bring the correspondent parts of the border and

picture together, by which the picture will appear of a piece, as at first, only part is behind the glass, and part before. Hold the picture horizontally by the top, and place a little movable gilt crown on the King's head. If now the picture be moderately electrified, and another person take hold of the frame with one hand, so that his fingers touch its inside gilding, and with the other hand endeavour to take off the crown, he will receive a terrible blow, and fail in the attempt. If the picture were highly charged, the consequence might perhaps be as fatal as that of high treason; for, when the spark is taken through a quire of paper laid on the picture by means of a wire communication, it makes a fair hole through every sheet, that is, through forty-eight leaves, though a quire of paper is thought good armour against the push of a sword, or even against a pistol bullet, and the crack is exceeding loud. The operator, who holds the picture by the upper end, where the inside of the frame is not gilt, to prevent its falling, feels nothing of the shock, and may touch the face of the picture without danger, which he pretends is a test of his loyalty. If a ring of persons take the shock among them, the experiment is called *The Conspirators.*"

It was in 1757 that Franklin's notice was attracted to the effect of oil on " the stilling of waves." What served to excite his interest, he states, was observing, in a convoy, " the wakes of two of the ships to be remarkably smooth, while all the others were ruffled by the wind, which blew fresh. Being puzzled with the differing appearance, I at last pointed it out to our captain, and asked him the meaning of it. 'The cooks,' said he, 'have, I suppose, been just emptying their greasy water through the scuppers, which has greased the sides of those ships a little.' And this answer he gave me with an air of some little contempt, as to a person ignorant of what everybody else knew. In my own mind I at first slighted his solution, though I was not able to



Excellence,

Le desir que vous m'avés temoigné de connoitre les avantages que l'on peut retirer de la decouverte du Magnetisme animal me fait esperer que vous aurés la bonté de vous assurer vous même de la réalité des cures que je fais.

outre le malades que vous avez vu, j'en ai plusieurs autres dont l'état pourroit vous frapper; j'aurai l'honneur de vous les presenter vendredy prochain 3 de ce mois à midy, si votre Excellence veut se donner la peine de venir les voir, et comme vous serés eloigné de chés vous, je serois doublement honoré, si vous daigniés accepter le diner.

Je suis avec le plus profond Respect

De Votre Excellence,

Paris le mercredy 1er Xbre 1779

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur
Mesmer
docteur en medecine de la faculté de vienne Rue des 4 fils au marais maison de M. godin avocat

LETTER OF MESMER TO FRANKLIN.
Original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

think of another." However unsatisfactory the explanation appeared to the inquirer, he was too instinctively the scientist, and was too well aware that "the learned are apt to slight too much the knowledge of the vulgar," not to bear it in memory, and

> "At length being at Clapham, where there is, on the common, a large pond, which I observed one day to be very rough with the wind, I fetched out a cruet of oil, and dropped a little of it on the water. I saw it spread itself with surprising swiftness upon the surface; but the effect of smoothing the waves was not produced; for I had applied it first on the leeward side of the pond, where the waves were greatest; and the wind drove my oil back upon the shore. I then went to the windward side where they began to form; and there the oil, though not more than a teaspoonful, produced an instant calm over a space several yards square, which spread amazingly, and extended itself gradually till it reached the lee side, making all that quarter of the pond, perhaps half an acre, as smooth as a looking-glass. After this I contrived to take with me, whenever I went into the country, a little oil in the upper hollow joint of my bamboo cane, with which I might repeat the experiment as opportunity should offer, and I found it constantly to succeed."

His experiments, and especially one he made at Portsmouth, during a gale, in the presence of some naval officers and members of the Royal Society, led to much discussion, and served to spread the knowledge generally. It is a typical instance of the qualities of his mind that a casual incident and question were sufficient to set him investigating, and thus to bring to the attention of the learned a really important truth, long known to more practical men.

A very similar though not so successful an attempt to spread the knowledge that had been learned, not reasoned, was in his observations upon and mapping of the Gulf Stream. As early as 1745 he was puzzling why ships should have "much shorter voyages" from America to England than in returning, and wishing he "had mathematics enough to satisfy myself" that it was "not in some degree owing to the diurnal motion of the earth."

> "About the year 1769 or 1770 there was an application made by the Board of Customs at Boston to the Lords of the Treasury in London, complaining that the packets between Falmouth and New York were generally a fortnight longer in their passages than merchant-ships from London to Rhode Island, and proposing that for the future they should be ordered to Rhode Island instead of New York. Being then concerned in the management of the American post-office, I happened to be consulted on the occasion; and it appearing strange to me that there should be such a difference between two places scarce a day's run asunder, especially when the merchant-ships are generally deeper laden and more weakly manned than the packets, and had from London the whole length of the river and channel to run before they left the land of England, while the packets had only to go from Falmouth, I could not but think the fact misunderstood or misrepresented. There happened then to be in London a Nantucket sea-captain of my acquaintance, to whom I communicated the affair. He told me he believed the fact might be true; but the difference was owing to this, that the Rhode Island captains were acquainted with the Gulf Stream, which those of the English packets were not. 'We are well acquainted with that stream,' says he, 'because in our pursuit of whales, which keep near the sides of it, but are not to be met with in it, we run down along the sides, and frequently cross it to change our side; and in crossing it have sometimes met and spoke with those packets who were in the middle of it and stemming it. We have informed them that they were stemming a current that was against them to the value of three miles an hour, and advised them to cross it and get out of it; but they were too

SIR JOSEPH BANKS.
From a portrait in the Royal Society, London.

wise to be counselled by simple American fishermen. When the winds are but light,' he added, 'they are carried back by the current more than they are forwarded by the wind; and, if the wind be good, the subtraction of seventy miles a day from their course is of some importance.' I then observed it was a pity no notice was taken of this current upon the charts, and requested him to mark it out for me, which he readily complied with, adding directions for avoiding it in sailing from Europe to North America. I procured it to be engraved by order from the general post-office, on the old chart of the Atlantic, at Mount & Page's, Tower Hill; and copies were sent down to Falmouth for the captains of the packets, who slighted it, however."

With each crossing of the ocean that Franklin made after learning of this current, he kept a careful record of the temperature of the water, and from the resulting data concluded that "a stranger may know when he is in the Gulf Stream, by the warmth of the water, which is much greater than that of the water on each side of it." Not content with this, he ingeniously contrived as well to discover how deep the current extended.

One service he rendered the scientific world less directly was something he did in 1779, at the request of his friend Sir Joseph Banks, then president of the Royal Society. The exploring expedition under Captain James Cook—whom Franklin had known personally in London—was then at sea, but, owing to the condition of war between the United States and Great Britain, was liable to capture. To prevent this, Franklin, then in France, issued a printed notice "To all captains and commanders of armed ships acting by commission from the Congress," which recommended "most earnestly" "that in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England," the undertaking being "truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented, and science of other kinds increased to the benefit of mankind in general." When the account of Cook's voyage was printed at the expense of the English government, the Board of Admiralty sent a copy of it to Franklin, with a letter from Lord Howe signifying that it was presented by direction of the king, in recognition of Franklin's action; and one of the gold medals struck by the Royal Society in honor of Cook was likewise given him.

Such are his most important contributions to science, which represent, however, only a small part of the investigations he conducted. He first suggested that the aurora was an electrical phenomenon. By means of little squares of different-colored cloths laid on "the snow in a bright sunshiny morning" he demonstrated the different effect of color as to heat. He studied and wrote upon sun-spots, shooting-stars, light, heat, fire, air, evaporation, the tides, rainfall, geology, the wind, whirlwinds, water-spouts, ventilation, sound, and a "universal fluid" or ether. He followed closely such mechanical developments as the balloon and the steamboat, and even such minor ones as improvements in

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.
In the National Portrait Gallery, London.

the methods of manufacturing air-pumps, guns, wheels, clocks, etc.

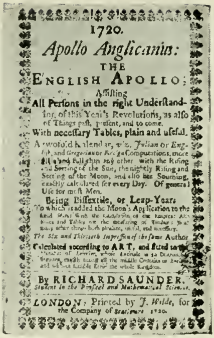
There can be no doubt that Franklin's greatest pleasure consisted in scientific research. When he retired from active printing, he said: "I flatter'd myself that . . . I had secured leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements"; when, later, political employments seized hold of him, he wrote sighingly to Priestley: "You judge rightly in supposing that I have not much time at present to consider philosophical matters"; and a little later he complained to Beccaria: "I find myself here immersed in affairs which absorb my attention, and prevent my pursuing those studies in which I always found the highest satisfaction; and I am now grown so old as hardly to hope for a return of that leisure and tranquillity so necessary for philosophical disquisitions." During the Revolution he "assured" the president of the Royal Society

> "That I long earnestly for a return of those peaceful times, when I could sit down in sweet society with my English philosophical friends, communicating to each other new discoveries, and proposing improvements of old ones; all tending to extend the power of man over matter, avert or diminish the evils he is subject to, or augment the number of his enjoyments. Much more happy should I be thus employed in your most desirable company, than in that of all the grandees of the earth projecting plans of mischief, however necessary they may be supposed for obtaining greater good."

Besides carrying on his own studies, Franklin was never wanting in any assistance he could give to other inquirers, and first or last he was in correspondence with almost every scientist of note on two continents. In America, even before he had made his name known by

ERASMUS DARWIN.
In the National Portrait Gallery, London.

his discoveries, he eagerly sought the friendship of the few men of scientific attainment, such as John Winthrop, James Bowdoin, Jared Eliot, Cadwallader Colden, James Logan, and John Bartram. His lifelong friendships with Sir William Watson, Sir John Pringle, Peter Collinson, and Sir Joseph Banks have been referred to, and he was equally intimate with Sir William Herschel and many others of his fellow-members of the Royal Society, which even the alienations of the Revolutionary War did not interrupt; and it is interesting to find Erasmus Darwin saying in a letter to him: "Whilst I am writing to the Philosopher & a friend, I can scarcely forget that I am also writing to the greatest Statesman of the present or perhaps any century, who spread the happy contagion of liberty among his countrymen; & like the greatest man of all antiquity, the leader of the Jews, delivered them from the house of bondage & the scourge of oppression." His chief circle of friends in France were scientists: Guillotin, Lavoisier, Condorcet, Daubenton, D'Alembert, Leroy, Dalibard, and Buffon. But perhaps the pleasantest of all his scientific friendships to study are those he gave to far younger men, and his advice and encouragement to David Rittenhouse in Philadelphia, and Joseph Priestley in England, bore fruit almost as important as his own labors. "You know the just esteem," Jefferson wrote, "which attached itself to Dr. Franklin's science, because he always endeavored to direct it to something useful in private life. The chemists have not been attentive enough to this." Franklin himself asked, "What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use?"



1720.

Apollo Anglicanus:

THE

ENGLISH APOLLO:

Aſſiſting

All Perſons in the right Underſtanding, of this Year's Revolutions, as alſo of Things paſt, preſent, and to come.

With neceſſary Tables, plain and uſeful.

A twofold Kalendar, viz. *Julian* or *English*, and *Gregorian* or *Forreign* Computations, more full than any other with the Riſing and Setting of the Sun, the nightly Riſing and Setting of the Moon, and alſo her Southing, exactly calculated for every Day. Of general Uſe for moſt Men.

Being Biſſextile, or Leap-Year.

To which is added the Moon's Application to the [illegible]

The Six and Thirtieth Impreſſion of the ſame Author

Calculated according to ART, and fitted to the [illegible]

By RICHARD SAUNDER,
Student in the Phyſical and Mathematical Sciences.

LONDON: Printed by *J. Wilde*, for the Company of *Stationers* 1720.

THE ENGLISH ALMANAC FROM WHICH FRANKLIN BORROWED THE NAME.

X

THE HUMORIST

NOTHING more impresses the student of American history, in tracing the psychological development of the people, than the absence of humor in the first hundred and fifty years following the settlement of the country. The English literature on which the colonists had been bred showed no lack of the comic Muse, and, indeed, unquestionably proves a greater appreciation of wit and humor than its present-day successor. In America, however, either because the immigrants had been recruited from the unfortunate and the religiously austere, or because the hardness of the conditions resulted in a sadness which tinctured the lives of the people, there seems to have been a practical extinction of all sense of the humorous. Notable as Franklin is for many things, perhaps his most remarkable attribute is that the future historian of the now famous American humor must begin its history with the first publication of Poor Richard.

This does not mean that the great American's sense of wit and fun began with the publication of his Almanac. In the letters of Mrs. Dogood, written when he was sixteen years old, he shows already a humorous turn of mind, and any one who has delved in the extraordinary mortuary lucubrations, which were once as popular in New England as a modern novel is to-day, will appreciate the wittiness of the following extract from one of her letters:

"*A Receipt* to make a *New-England*
"Funeral *Elegy*.

"*For the Title of your Elegy*. Of these you may have enough ready made to your Hands: but if you should chuse to make it your self, you must be sure not to omit the Words *Ætatis Suæ*, which will beautify it exceedingly.

"*For the Subject of your Elegy*. Take one of your Neighbours who has lately departed this Life; it is no great matter at what Age the Party dy'd, but it will be best if he went away suddenly, being *Kill'd*, *Drown'd*, or *Froze to Death*.

"Having chosen the Person, take all his Virtues, Excellencies, &c. and if he have not enough, you may borrow some to make up a sufficient Quantity: To these add his last Words, dying Expressions, &c. if they are to be had; mix all these together, and be sure you *strain* them well. Then season all with a Handful or two of Melancholy Expressions, such as, *Dreadful*, *Deadly*, *cruel cold Death*, *unhappy Fate*, *weeping Eyes*, &c. Having mixed all these Ingredients well, put them into the empty Scull of some *young Harvard;* (but in Case you have ne'er a One at Hand, you may use your own,) there let them Ferment for the Space of a Fortnight, and by that Time they will be incorporated into a Body, which take out, and having prepared a sufficient Quantity of double Rhimes, such as, *Power*, *Flower;* *Quiver*, *Shiver;* *Grieve us*, *Leave us;* *tell you*, *excel you;* *Expeditions*, *Physicians;* *Fatigue him*, *Intrigue him;* &c. you must spread all upon Paper, and if you can procure a Scrap of Latin to put at the End, it will garnish it mightily; then having affixed your Name at the Bottom, with a *Mæstus Composuit*, you will have an Excellent Elegy.

"*N. B.* This Receipt will serve when a Female is the Subject of your Elegy, provided you borrow a greater Quantity of Virtues, Excellencies, &c."

Nor is this the only indication that even as a lad he possessed a keen appreciation of humor. When nearly eighty, something, he relates, "put me in mind of a violent High Church factor, resident in Boston, when I was a boy. He had bought upon speculation a Connecticut cargo of onions, which he flattered himself he might sell again to great profit, but the price fell, and they lay upon hand. He was heartily vexed with his bargain, especially when he observed they began to *grow* in the store he had filled with them. He showed them one day to a friend. 'Here they are,' said he, 'and they are *growing* too! I damn them every day; but I think they are like the Presbyterians; the more I curse them, the more they grow.'" In London he relates that he was popular with his fellow-journeymen printers because of "my being esteem'd a pretty good *Riggite*, that is, a jocular verbal satirist."

His natural tendency to humor is shown very clearly by the columns of the "Pennsylvania Gazette" from the time that Franklin assumed its publication. "I am about courting a girl I have had but little acquaintance with," he makes a correspondent write. "How shall I come to a knowledge of her faults, and whether she has the virtues I imagine she has?" "Commend her among her female acquaintance," advises Franklin. Elsewhere, as if to put his joke in concrete form, he wrote:

"*Daphnis*, says *Clio*, has a charming Eye;
What Pity 't is her Shoulder is awry!
Aspasia's Shape indeed—*but* then her Air,
'T would task a Conj'rer to find Beauty there.
Without a *But*, *Hortensia* she commends,
The first of Women, and the best of Friends;
Owns her in Person, Wit, Fame, Virtue, bright;
But how comes this to pass?—She dy'd last Night."

He makes another correspondent beg him to "let the prettiest creature in this place know (by publishing this) that if it was not for her affectation she would be absolutely irresistible," and in the next issue he prints six denials of the charge, from as many different women. In the same vein he writes the paper a letter from "Alice Addertongue," who describes herself as "a young girl of about thirty-five," who has "no care upon my head of getting a living, and therefore find it in my duty, as well as inclination, to exercise my talent at *censure* for the good of my country-folks. . . . Shall I discover my secret?"

> "If I have never heard ill of some person, I always impute it to defective intelligence; *for there are none without their faults; no, not one.* If she be a woman, I take the first opportunity to let all her acquaintance know that I have heard that one of the handsomest or best men in town has said something in praise either of her beauty, her wit, her virtue, or her good management. If you know any thing of human nature, you

perceive that this naturally introduces a conversation turning upon all her failings, past, present, and to come. To the same purpose, and with the same success, I cause every man of reputation to be praised before his competitors in love, business, or esteem, on account of any particular qualification. Near the times of election, if I find it necessary, I commend every candidate before some of the opposite party, listening attentively to what is said of him in answer. But commendations in this latter case are not always necessary, and should be used judiciously. Of late years I needed only observe what they said of one another freely; and having, for the help of memory, taken account of all informations and accusations received, whoever peruses my writings after my death may happen to think that during a certain time the people of Pennsylvania chose into all their offices of honor and trust the veriest knaves, fools, and rascals in the whole province."

It must not be inferred that all his fooling was at the expense of the gentler sex. A "Drinkers' Dictionary" held up a masculine weakness to scorn. He guyed a pair of would-be duelists mercilessly, and in a little poem ridiculed a second mannish extravagance:

"The following Lines are dedicated to the Service of our FAIR READERS; which, perhaps, may give them an useful Hint how to behave upon the like Occasion.

"THE FRIGHT.

"Myrtle unsheath'd his shining *Blade*,
And fix'd its Point against his Breast:
Then gaz'd upon the wond'ring *Maid*,
And thus his dire Resolve express'd.

"Since, *cruel Fair!* with cold Disdain
You still return my raging Love,
Thought is but Madness, *Life* is Pain:
And thus—at once,—I *both* remove.

"O stay one Moment!—CHLOE said,
And trembling, hasted to the Door.
Here, *Betty!*—quick:—a Pail, *dear Maid!*—
This *Madman* else will stain the *Floor*."

In every way the editor sought to inject a vein of humor into his columns. A sample news-item runs: "An unhappy man, one Sturgis, upon some Difference with his Wife, determined to drown himself in the River; and she, (kind Wife) went with him, it seems, to see it faithfully performed, and accordingly stood by silent and unconcerned during the whole Transaction: He jump'd in near Carpenter's Wharff, but was timely taken out again, before what he came about was thoroughly effected, so that they were both obliged to return home as they came, and put up for that Time with the Disappointment." In another issue, printing the fact that a Bucks County farmer had his pewter buttons melted off his "waistband" by a flash of lightning, he adds the comment: "'T is well nothing else thereabouts was made of pewter."

How he made jokes of his own typographical errors, and how he joked his fellow-editors, has been told already; and his quickness to seize an opportunity is shown by a very typical reply to one of these, in a letter addressed to himself:

"MR. FRANKLIN, I am the Author of a Copy of Verses in the last Mercury. It was my real Intention [to] appear open, and not basely with my Vizard on, attack a Man who had fairly unmasked. Accordingly I subscribed my Name at full Length, in my Manuscript sent to my Brother *B—d;* but he, for some incomprehensible Reason, inserted the two initial Letters only, *viz. B. L.* 'T is true, every Syllable of the Performance discovers me to be the Author, but as I meet with much Censure on the Occasion, I request you to inform the Publick, that I did not desire my Name should be conceal'd; and that the remaining Letters are, O, C, K, H, E, A, D."

His irresistible inclination to screw a joke out of everything is illustrated by the scrapes he got himself into with his advertisers. Employed to print an announcement of the sailing of a ship, he added an "N. B." of his own, to the effect that among the passengers "No Sea Hens, nor Black Gowns will be admitted on any terms." Some of the clergy, properly incensed, withdrew their subscriptions from the "Gazette." Yet this did not cure him of the tendency, and he was quickly offending again. One Alexander Miller, "peruke maker in Second Street, Philadelphia," by advertisement acquainted "his customers that he intends to leave off the shaving business after the 22nd of August next," and the paper having an overplus of space, Franklin proceeded to tag on to this notification a humorous article on barbers, who, he pointed out, were peculiarly fitted for politics, not because of that particular part of their calling, but because they were also adept shavers and trimmers, "which will naturally lead us to consider the near relation which subsists between shaving, trimming and politics"; and, congratulating the people upon this advertised retirement of the barber, he continued: "I am of opinion that all possible encouragement ought to be given to Examples of this Kind." It is not surprising that the innocent advertiser resented this, and the printer was called upon to explain. "I had no animosity," he wrote, "against the person whose advertisement I made the motto of my paper," and he expressed surprise that

BENJAMIN WEST'S PENCIL-SKETCH OF FRANKLIN.
In the possession of the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.

"my paper on shavers and trimmers in the last Gazette" should be "generally condemned," which he "at first imputed" to a "want of taste and relish for pieces of that force and beauty which none but a University bred gentleman can produce"; but, upon advice of friends, "whose judgment I could depend on," he thought it best to express regret and promise reformation.

A pleasant quality of this love of humor was that Franklin was ever as ready to joke at his own expense as at another's. On "Thursday last," the "Gazette" informed its readers, "a certain P—r ('t is not customary to give names at length on these occasions) walking carefully in clean Clothes over some Barrels of Tar on Carpenter's Wharff, the head of one of them unluckily gave way, and let a Leg of him in above the Knee. Whether he was upon the Catch at that time, we cannot say, but 't is certain he caught a *Tar-tar*. 'T was observed he sprang out again right briskly, verifying the common saying, As nimble as a Bee in a Tarbarrel. You must know there are several sorts of Bees: 't is true he was no Honey Bee, nor yet a Humble Bee; but a Boo-Bee he may be allowed to be, namely B. F." So, to teach a moral, he wrote his fable of "The Whistle," telling of how:

> "When I was a child of seven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pocket with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and being charmed with the sound of a *whistle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered and gave all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my *whistle*, but disturbing the family. My brothers, and sisters, and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth; put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of the money; and laughed at me so much for my folly, that I cried with

vexation; and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whistle* gave me pleasure. This, however, was afterwards of use to me, the impression continuing on my mind; so that often, when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, *Don't give too much for the whistle;* and I saved my money."

Better still was an incident which proves him truly an incorrigible joker. "Two nights ago," he states, "being about to kill a turkey by the shock from two large glass jars, containing as much electrical fire as forty common phials, I inadvertently took the whole through my own arms and body, by receiving the fire from the united top wires with one hand, while the other held a chain connected with the outsides of both jars. The company present (whose talking to me and to one another, I suppose, occasioned my inattention to what I was about) say that the flash was very great, and the crack as loud as a pistol; yet, my senses being instantly gone, I neither saw the one nor heard the other; nor did I feel the stroke on my hand. . . . I . . . felt what I know not how well to describe—a universal blow throughout my whole body from head to foot, which seemed within as well as without; after which the first thing I took notice of was a violent, quick shaking of my body, which gradually remitting, my sense as gradually returned." Yet the moment he became conscious enough to realize what had occurred, he remarked: "Well, I meant to kill a Turkey, and instead, I nearly killed a Goose."

As he made fun of his errors, so he did of his triumphs. "Poverty, poetry, and new titles of honour, make men ridiculous," he once wrote, and in communicating to a friend the fact that the King of France had sent him his "thanks and compliments" for his "useful discoveries in electricity," he prefaced it with the story from the "Tatler," "of a girl who was observed to grow suddenly proud, and none could guess the reason, till it came to be known that she had got on a pair of new silk garters. Lest you should be puzzled to guess the cause, when you observe any thing of the kind in me, I think I will not hide my new garters under my petticoats, but take the freedom to show them to you."

But his supreme self-joking was his turning his own physical torture into something to furnish his friends amusement. "You know," he wrote one of these, "that Mme. le Goutte has given me good advice often," and while suffering from the disease he penned his "Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout," one of his most delightful pieces of persiflage, of which, unfortunately, owing to its length, only the beginning and the end can be quoted:

"Midnight, 22 October, 1780.

"FRANKLIN. Eh! oh! eh! What have I done to merit these cruel sufferings?

"GOUT. Many things; you have ate and drank too freely, and too much indulged those legs of yours in their indolence.

"FRANKLIN. Who is it that accuses me?

"GOUT. It is I, even I, the Gout.

"FRANKLIN. What! my enemy in person?

"GOUT. No, not your enemy.

"FRANKLIN. I repeat it, my enemy; for you would not only torment my body to death, but ruin my good name; you reproach me as a glutton and a tippler; now all the world, that knows me, will allow that I am neither the one nor the other.

"GOUT. The world may think as it pleases; it is always very complaisant to itself, and sometimes to its friends; but I very well know that the quantity of meat and drink proper for a man, who takes a reasonable degree of exercise, would be too much for another, who never takes any. . . .

"FRANKLIN. Ah! how tiresome you are!

"GOUT. Well, then, to my office; it should not be forgotten that I am your physician. There.

"FRANKLIN. Ohhh! what a devil of a physician!

"GOUT. How ungrateful you are to say so! Is it not I who, in the character of your physician, have saved you from the palsy, dropsy, and apoplexy? One or other of which would have done for you long ago, but for me.

"FRANKLIN. I submit, and thank you for the past, but entreat the discontinuance of your visits for the future; for, in my mind, one had better die than be cured so dolefully. Permit me just to hint, that I have also not been unfriendly to *you*. I never feed physician or quack of any kind, to enter the list against you; if then you do not leave me to my repose, it may be said you are ungrateful too.

"GOUT. I can scarcely acknowledge that as any objection. As to quacks, I despise them; they may kill you indeed, but cannot injure me. And, as to regular physicians, they are at last convinced that the gout, in such a subject as you are, is no disease, but a remedy; and wherefore cure a remedy?—but to our business,—there.

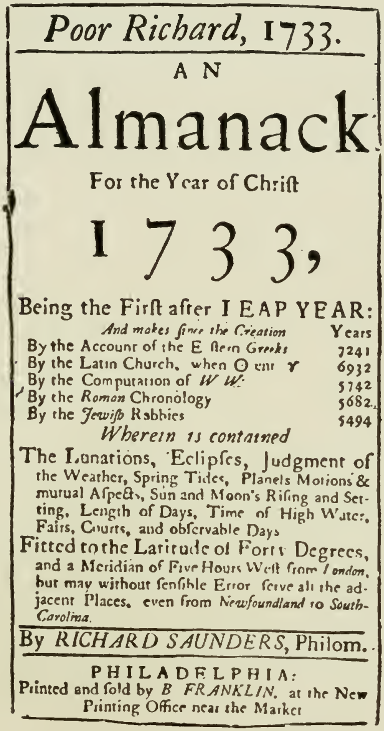
"FRANKLIN. Oh! oh!—for Heaven's sake leave me! and I promise faithfully never more to play at chess, but to take exercise daily, and live temperately.

"GOUT. I know you too well. You promise fair; but, after a few months of good health, you will return to your old habits; your fine promises will be forgotten like the forms of last year's clouds. Let us then finish the account, and I will go. But I leave you with an assurance of visiting you again at a proper time and place; for my object is your good, and you are sensible now that I am your *real friend*."

One very noticeable quality of all Franklin's humor is that, poke fun as he would at himself, he rarely did so at others. Not once in twenty was his humor aimed at an individual, and he appears in this to have regarded Poor Richard's warnings that "Thou canst not joke an enemy into a friend, but thou mayst a friend into an enemy," that "Joke went out and brought home his fellow, and they two began to quarrel," and that "He makes a foe who makes a jest."

As need scarcely be said, it is "Poor Richard's Almanac" which embodies the bulk of the humor originated by Franklin. In his day the great source of profit to every printer was the almanac which was issued yearly, and which was the vade-mecum in every household that could spare the necessary two or three pence annually; and so when Franklin set up his press, he arranged with Thomas Godfrey, a local scientist of some note, to furnish him with the "copy" for an annual issue. Presently, however, Mrs. Godfrey, by her match-making schemes, became the Discordia, as already told. If the young printer took philosophically the broken heart, the resulting broken friendship was more serious, for he not only lost Godfrey as his tenant, but the philomath carried his manuscript to a rival printer, and Franklin was left in the lurch for his copy.

In this predicament he apparently wrote his own almanac, but knowing that his name would hardly give it currency among readers who still looked upon it as dealing in magic, witchcraft, and astrology, he adopted that of Richard Saunder, an English philomath of the seventeenth century, of great popularity, but since quite eclipsed by his more popular Western namesake. Under this name, therefore, the initial number was issued in the latter part of December, 1732, when, in spite of its late publication, three "impressions" were called for by the popular demand; and from that time it was not merely the most esteemed almanac in Pennsylvania, but



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR:

And makes ſince the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W.*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST ISSUE OF POOR RICHARD.

had a sale as far north as Rhode Island and as far south as the Carolinas, and, indeed, it was the first American publication which broke through colonial boundaries. The secret of its success was its humor.

The calculations were no more accurate, the poetry no better, nor the printing clearer, than were those of the half-dozen competitors which then came from the Pennsylvania presses; but in the colorless life of the frontier settlements the advent of this little pamphlet of a dozen leaves was one of the events of the year, and it is not strange that the sense and nonsense of Poor Richard, which afterward gained such a place and name in the literary centers of Europe, should surpass its competitors, and keep the presses busy printing the ten thousand copies annually called for. The humor was everywhere—in the advertisement that announced its publication, in the title-page and preface, sprinkled in the calendar, the weather predictions, the eclipses, and the prophecies. Here, for instance, is the way he announced the eclipses in the year 1734:

> "There will be but two: The first, April 22, 18 min. after 5 in the morning; the second, October 15, 36 min. past 1 in the afternoon. Both of the Sun; and both, like Mrs. —— s's modesty, and old neighbour Scrape-all's money, invisible. Or like a certain storekeeper late of —— county, not to be seen in these parts."

Not the least element of the popularity was due to the controversies with his brother philomaths, which Franklin originated by his jocose remarks upon them in the prefaces of Poor Richard. With delightful humor and satire Mr. Saunders in different issues gravely predicts the death of one of his rivals, Titan Leeds, and the reconciliation of a second, John Jerman, to the Catholic Church. Neither of these gentlemen, though able to predict weather twelve months in advance, could draw from the stars Franklin's purpose, and so they fell into his trap, and in the prefaces to their respective issues they replied to him with anger and "strong" words. Leeds called him "a Fool and a Lyar" and "a conceited scribbler," which Jerman echoed in no minor key by stating that Franklin's prediction was "altogether false and untrue," and that he was "one of Baal's false prophets." This was just what Franklin expected, and he used his opportunity to the utmost. With wit and humor he fanned the flame of controversy, to which his rivals replied with bad language and adjectives. He made every reader of Leeds and Jerman hear of and wish to see Poor Richard, and, once seen, it was a very clodpate who could not discriminate between texts, one of which has been translated into a dozen languages, while the other has barely survived on the shelves of the antiquary.

What made Poor Richard a byword throughout the colonies, however, were the scraps of wit and wisdom with which Franklin filled in any little blanks in the text. In his autobiography he tells us that:

> "Observing it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore filled all the little spaces between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of these proverbs, '*it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*'"

It is hardly necessary to state that Franklin did not originate all the "Sayings of Poor Richard." He himself affirmed that they were "the wisdom of many ages and nations," and again disclaimed all originality by remarking that "not a tenth Part of this Wisdom was my own, . . . but rather the *Gleanings* I had made of all Ages and Nations." Any one familiar with Bacon, Rochefoucauld, and Rabelais, as well as others, will recognize old friends in some of these sayings, while a study of the collections of proverbs made in the early part of the last century by Ray, Palmer, and others will reveal the probable source from which Poor Richard pilfered. Yet many of these maxims and aphorisms had been filtered through Franklin's brain, and were tinged with that mother-wit which strongly and individually marks so much that he said and wrote, and those of which he was himself the originator rank with the best of the world's philosophy, as the following specimens will evidence:

> "Time eateth all things, could old poets say.
> But times are chang'd, our times *drink* all away."

"You may drive a gift without a gimblet."

"Here comes Glib-tongue, who can out-flatter a Dedication; and lie, like ten Epitaphs."

"One man may be more cunning than another, but not more cunning than every one else."

"Mankind are very odd Creatures: one half censure what they practise, the other half practises what they censure; the rest always say and do as they ought."

"A hundred Thieves cannot strip one naked man; especially if his Skin 's off."

> "Money & Man a mutual Friendship show:
> Man makes false Money, Money makes Man so."

"Mary's mouth costs her nothing, for she never opens it but at others' expence."

"*A Doubtful Meaning.*

"The female kind is counted ill:
And is indeed: the contrary;
No man can find: that hurt they will:
But every where: shew charity:
To nobody; malicious still;
In word or deed: believe you me."

"He that is of Opinion Money will do every Thing, may well be suspected of doing every Thing for Money."

"A rich rogue is like a fat hog,
Who never does good till as dead as a log."

"He does not possess wealth, it possesses him."

"He that falls in love with himself, will have no rivals."

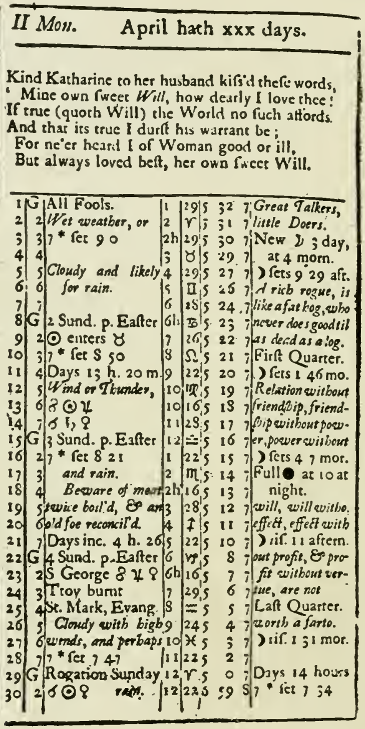
"Women are books, and men the readers be,
Who sometimes in those books erratas see;
Yet oft the reader 's raptured with each line,
Fair print and paper, fraught with sense divine;
Tho' some, neglectful, seldom care to read,
And faithful wives no more than bibles heed.
Are women books? says Hodge, then would mine were
An Almanack, to change her every year."

"The cunning man steals a horse, the wise man lets him alone."

"Onions can make ev'n heirs and widows weep."

"Necessity has no law; I know some attorneys of the same."

For twenty-five years Franklin compiled and printed this Almanac, and in the last issue edited by him, being for the year 1758, he contributed a preface to which almost the entire knowledge of Poor Richard by the world is due. It was in effect a skimming of the cream from the twenty-four previous issues, being a selection of aphorisms, rhymes, and jokes run into a continuous piece, which was described by Franklin as follows: "These proverbs . . . I assembled and form'd into a connected discourse prefix'd to the Almanack of 1757 (*sic*) as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scatter'd counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater



II Mon. **April hath xxx days.**

Kind Katharine to her husband kiſs'd theſe words,
' Mine own ſweet *Will*, how dearly I love thee!
If true (quoth Will) the World no ſuch affords.
And that its true I durſt his warrant be;
For ne'er heard I of Woman good or ill,
But always loved beſt, her own ſweet Will.

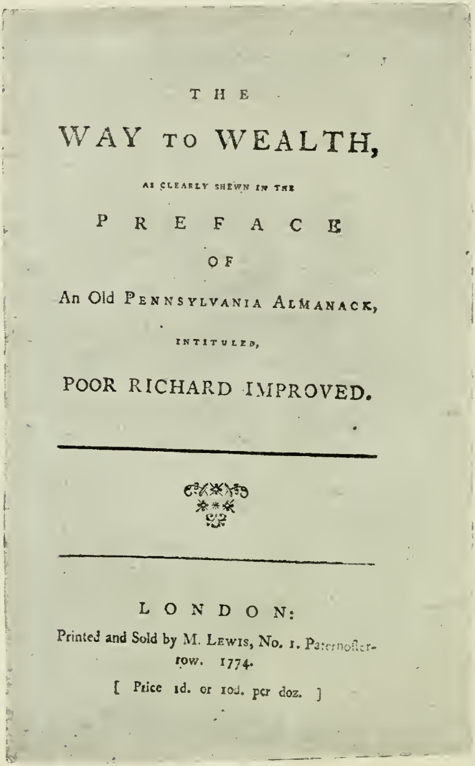
1	G	All Fools.	1	29	5	32	7	*Great Talkers,*
2	2	*Wet weather, or*	2	♈	5	31	7	*little Doers.*
3	3	7 * ſet 9 0	2h	29	5	30	7	New ☽ 3 day,
4	4		3	♉	5	29	7	at 4 morn.
5	5	*Cloudy and likely*	4	29	5	27	7	☽ ſets 9 29 aft.
6	6	*for rain.*	5	♊	5	26	7	*A rich rogue, is*
7	7		6	18	5	24	7	*like a fat hog, who*
8	G	2 Sund. p. Eaſter	6h	♋	5	23	7	*never does good til*
9	2	☉ enters ♉	7	26	5	22	7	*as dead as a log.*
10	3	7 * ſet 8 50	8	♌	5	21	7	Firſt Quarter.
11	4	Days 13 h. 20 m.	9	22	5	20	7	☽ ſets 1 46 mo.
12	5	*Wind or Thunder,*	10	♍	5	19	7	*Relation without*
13	6	☍ ☉ ♃	10	16	5	18	7	*friendſhip, friend-*
14	7	☌ ♄ ♀	11	28	5	17	7	*ſhip without pow-*
15	G	3 Sund. p. Eaſter	12	♎	5	16	7	*er, power without*
16	2	7 * ſet 8 21	1	22	5	15	7	☽ ſets 4 7 mor.
17	3	*and rain.*	2	♏	5	14	7	Full ● at 10 at
18	4	*Beware of meat*	2h	16	5	13	7	night.
19	5	*twice boil'd, & an*	3	28	5	12	7	*will, will witho.*
20	6	*old foe reconcil'd.*	4	♐	5	11	7	*effect, effect with*
21	7	Days inc. 4 h. 26	5	22	5	10	7	☽ riſ. 11 aftern.
22	G	4 Sund. p. Eaſter	6	♑	5	8	7	*out profit, & pro-*
23	2	S George ☍ ♃ ♀	6h	16	5	7	7	*fit without ver-*
24	3	Troy burnt	7	29	5	6	7	*tue, are not*
25	4	St. Mark, Evang.	8	♒	5	5	7	Laſt Quarter.
26	5	*Cloudy with high*	9	24	5	4	7	*worth a farto.*
27	6	*winds, and perhaps*	10	♓	5	3	7	☽ riſ. 1 31 mor.
28	7	7 * ſet 7 47	11	22	5	2	7	
29	G	Rogation Sunday	12	♈	5	0	7	Days 14 hours
30	2	☌ ☉ ♀ *rain.*	12	22	5	59	6	7 * ſet 7 34

SPECIMEN PAGE OF "POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC."

impression. The piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the Continent; reprinted in Britain on a broadside, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in French, and great numbers were bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants."

It is this preface which has given the name of Poor Richard currency in alien races, and a quotable quality to this day. It has been printed and reprinted again and again. In every size, from a "pot duodecimo" up to "imperial folio"; in thousands for the plow-boy, and in limited and privately printed editions at the expense of noblemen; for the "penny-horrible" hawker, and for the bibliomaniac; for the "Society for Preserving Property against Republicans and Levelers," and for the "Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor"; and under the titles of "Father Abraham's Speech," "The Way to Wealth," and "La Science du Bonhomme Richard," it has proved itself one of the most popular American writings. Seventy-five editions of it have been printed in English, fifty-six in French, eleven in German, and nine in Italian. It has been translated into Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Welsh, Polish, Gaelic, Russian, Bohemian, Dutch, Catalan, Chinese, modern Greek, and phonetic writing. It has been printed at least four hundred times, and is to-day as popular as ever.

Franklin was as much a wit with tongue as he was with pen, and there are innumerable instances of his ready replies. To a Philadelphia neighbor who complained to him that people would steal into his yard and tap a keg of small beer which he kept there, and who consulted him on a means to prevent it, he replied:



THE

WAY TO WEALTH,

AS CLEARLY SHEWN IN THE

PREFACE

OF

An Old PENNSYLVANIA ALMANACK,

INTITULED,

POOR RICHARD IMPROVED.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by M. LEWIS, No. 1. Paternoſter-row. 1774.

[Price 1d. or 10d. per doz.]

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION OF "POOR RICHARD'S SAYINGS."

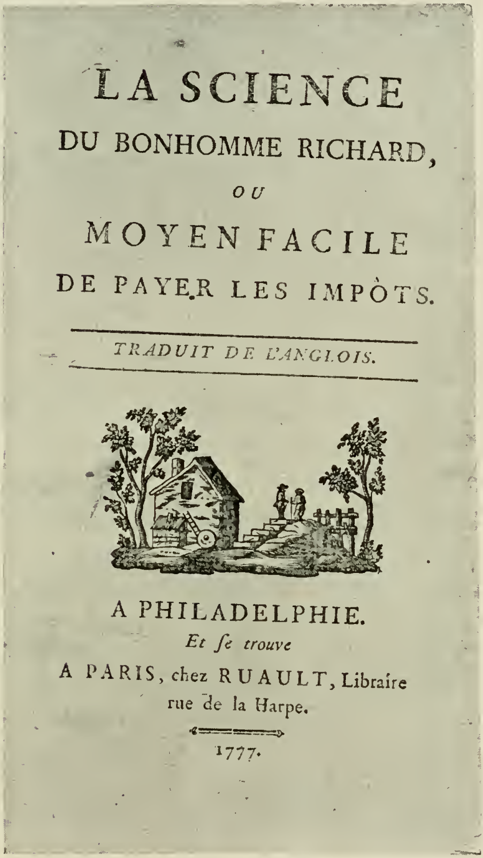
"Put a pipe of Madeira alongside it." When the Declaration of Independence was being signed, and Harrison said that the Congress must hang together in its defense, Franklin jocosely remarked: "Yes, we must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately." In France, when Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, circulated the report that a large part of Washington's army had surrendered, and Franklin was asked if it were true, he replied: "No, sir, it is not a truth; it is only a Stormont," and from that time the poor ambassador's name was used in Paris as the equivalent of a lie. Upon the news arriving that General Howe had captured Philadelphia, Franklin gave another turn to the disaster, and cheered the American partizans by retorting, "No; Philadelphia has captured Howe," a version not merely witty, but which time proved truthful. In his contest with the Penn proprietors, one evening at the governor's, Franklin relates:

> "In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us, jokingly, that he much admir'd the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of *blacks*, as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, says: 'Franklin, why do you continue to side with these damn'd Quakers? Had not you better sell them? The proprietor would give you a good price.' 'The governor' says I, 'has not yet *blacked* them enough.'"

As the *bon mot* about Stormont shows, Franklin was something of a punster. When it was suggested to him that peerages and pensions would be given to those who might bring about a reëstablishment of the dependence of the colonies, he answered: "You will give us PENSIONS, probably to be paid too out of your expected American revenue, and which none of us can accept without deserving, and perhaps obtaining, a SUS-

pension." But the very neatest twist is connected with his right of franking letters. While Deputy Postmaster-General under the crown he wrote on the back of his letters, "Free. B. Franklin"; but when the Continental Congress appointed him to the same office, he changed the form, and wrote, "B. Free Franklin." He encouraged a punster, too, by writing him that "your string of puns" made "us very merry"; adding: "You will allow me to claim a little merit or demerit in the last, as having had some hand in making you a punster; but the wit of the first is keen, and all your own."

To nineteenth-century palates some of Poor Richard is coarse and vulgar, but the times rather than the author should bear the blame. So there are other humorous writings of his so certain to shock modern taste that they have never been printed in his collected works. One, which by surreptitious editions has acquired much currency, was pretendedly a letter of advice to a young man on his conduct to women, but was only a bit of fooling, never seriously intended. A second is a satire on the silly conduct of some learned societies in discussing trivial questions. A preface to one of his almanacs is on the whole the worst of the three, because printed; yet presumably it was mightily enjoyed, and scarcely disapproved of, by those who purchased it. His "Speech of Polly Baker," if written in the plainest of Anglo-Saxon, and if given a humorous turn, is but such a protest as the noblest men and women have more seriously, and with more careful choice of words, uttered against laws and customs that pillory the fallen woman and leave unpunished the partner in her sin.



LA SCIENCE
DU BONHOMME RICHARD,
OU
MOYEN FACILE
DE PAYER LES IMPÔTS.

TRADUIT DE L'ANGLOIS.

A PHILADELPHIE.
Et ſe trouve
A PARIS, chez RUAULT, Libraire
rue de la Harpe.

1777.

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST FRENCH EDITION OF "POOR RICHARD'S SAYINGS."

It is not to be denied that in a certain way Franklin let his sense of fun overcome what was appropriate and dignified. Thus, when he was in command on the frontier in 1756:

> "We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister. Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually serv'd out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observ'd they were as punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty: 'It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you.' He liked the tho't, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service."

With more justification, and probably, in this case, with intentional burlesquing, he wrote of the Society of the Cincinnati badge:

> "Others object to the *bald eagle* as looking too much like a *dindon*, or turkey. For my own part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk; and, when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case; but, like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward; the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. . . . I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known

as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For in truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America."

Allusion has already been made to his political satires, all of which had a more or less humorous turn. So he often adopted the same vein in his non-political articles. Here, for instance, is his method of making clear the misinformation which the British press then, as now, delighted to print concerning America, pretendedly a counter-denial of a contradiction.

"Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amused with such groundless objections. The very tails of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a little car or wagon on four little wheels to support and keep it from trailing on the ground. Would they caulk their ships; would they even litter their horses with wool, if it were not both plenty and cheap? . . . And yet all this is as certainly true as the account, said to be from Quebec, in all the papers of last week, that the inhabitants of Canada are making preparations for a cod and whale fishery this 'summer in the upper Lakes.' Ignorant people may object that the upper Lakes are fresh, and that cod and whales are salt water fish, but let them know, Sir, that cod, like other fish, when attacked by their enemies, fly into any water where they can be safest; that whales, when they have a mind to eat cod, pursue them wherever they fly, and that the grand leap of the whale in the chase up the Falls of Niagara is esteemed by all who have seen it as one of the finest spectacles in nature."

As Franklin was a wit, so he was a story-teller. "The Doctor," Miss Adams noted, "is always silent unless he has some diverting story to tell, of which he has a great collection." "You know," he himself reminded a friend, "everything puts me in mind of a story." Some few of these, selected at random, will serve to indicate how habitual it was to him. Insisting on the necessity of careful preliminary work in science, he told a correspondent that:

> "This prudence of not attempting to give reasons before one is sure of facts, I learned from one of your sex, who, as Selden tells us, being in company with some gentlemen that were viewing and considering something which they called a Chinese shoe, and disputing earnestly about the manner of wearing it, and how it could possibly be put on, put in her word, and said modestly, '*Gentlemen, are you sure it is a shoe? Should not that be settled first?*'"

Weary of a public matter to which he had given much time, he said:

> "I begin to be a little of the sailor's mind when they were handing a cable out of a store into a ship, and one of 'em said: ''T is a long, heavy cable. I wish we could see the end of it.' 'D—n me,' says another, 'if I believe it has any end; somebody has cut it off.'"

In reply to a letter of extravagant thanks, he remarked that it

> "Put me in mind of the story of the member of Parliament, who began one of his speeches with saying he thanked God that he was born and bred a Presbyterian; on which another took leave to observe, that the gentleman must needs be of a most grateful disposition, since he was thankful for such very small matters."

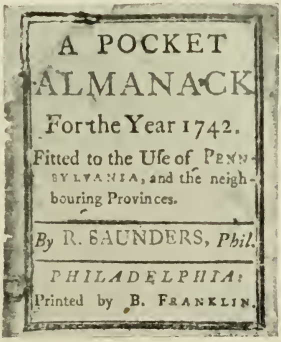
Protesting against the folly of dueling, he cited the case of a gentleman in a coffee-house who desired another to sit farther from him.

> "'Why so?' 'Because, sir, you stink.' 'That is an affront, and you must fight me.' 'I will fight you, if you

insist upon it; but I do not see how that will mend the matter. For if you kill me, I shall stink too; and if I kill you, you will stink, if possible, worse than you do at present.'"

Describing his own country, and the absence of a leisure class because idleness was deemed disreputable, he declared that:

> "The husbandman is in honor there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe; and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handiworks, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that *Boccarora* (meaning that white man) *make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee; only de hog. He, de hog, no workee; he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he please, he live like a gempleman.*"



A POCKET
ALMANACK
For the Year 1742.
Fitted to the Uſe of PENN-
SYLVANIA, and the neigh-
bouring Provinces.

By R. SAUNDERS, *Phil.*

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by B. FRANKLIN.

TITLE-PAGE OF POCKET-EDITION OF
POOR RICHARD.

These innumerable stories had great currency in their time, and went from mouth to mouth, not always as

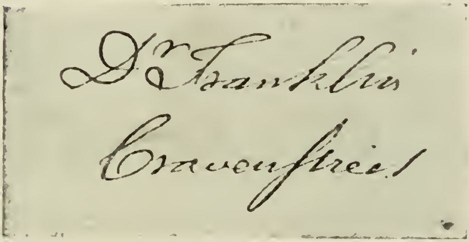
Franklin told them. Correcting one of these versions, he capped one story with another by writing:

> "As you observe, there was no swearing in the story of the poker, when I told it. The late new dresser of it was, probably, the same, or perhaps akin to him, who, in relating a dispute that happened between Queen Anne and the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning a vacant mitre, which the Queen was for bestowing on a person the Archbishop thought unworthy, made both the Queen and the Archbishop swear three or four thumping oaths in every sentence of the discussion, and the Archbishop at last gained his point. One present at this tale, being surprised, said: 'But did the Queen and the Archbishop swear so at one another?' 'Oh no, no,' says the relator; 'that is only *my way* of telling the story.'"

He continued to joke to the very end, for when the burden of years and pain was resting heavily upon him, he told a friend, who dwelt on the need of his country for his services, "our story of the harrow":

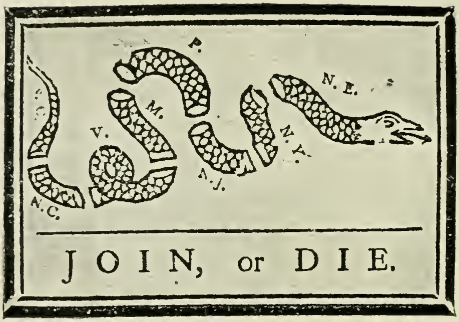
> "A farmer, in our country, sent two of his servants to borrow one of a neighbor, ordering them to bring it between them on their shoulders. When they came to look at it, one of them, who had much wit and cunning, said: 'What could our master mean by sending only two men to bring this harrow? No two men upon earth are strong enough to carry it.' 'Poh!' said the other, who was vain of his strength, 'what do you talk of two men? One man can carry it. Help it on my shoulders and see.' As he proceeded with it, the wag kept exclaiming, 'Zounds, how strong you are! I could not have thought it! Why, you are a Samson! There is no such another man in America! What amazing strength God has given you! But you will kill yourself! Pray put it down and rest a little, or let me bear a part of the weight.' 'No, no,' said he, being more encouraged by the compliments than oppressed by the burden; 'you shall see I carry it quite home." And so he did. In this particular I am afraid my part of the imitation will fall short of the original."

"Life, like a dramatic piece," he once wrote, "should not only be conducted with regularity, but, methinks, it should finish handsomely. Being now in the last act, I begin to cast about for something fit to end with. Or, if mine be more properly compared to an epigram, as some of its lines are but barely tolerable, I am very desirous of concluding with a bright point."



Dr Franklin
Cravenstreet

FRANKLIN'S CALLING CARD.



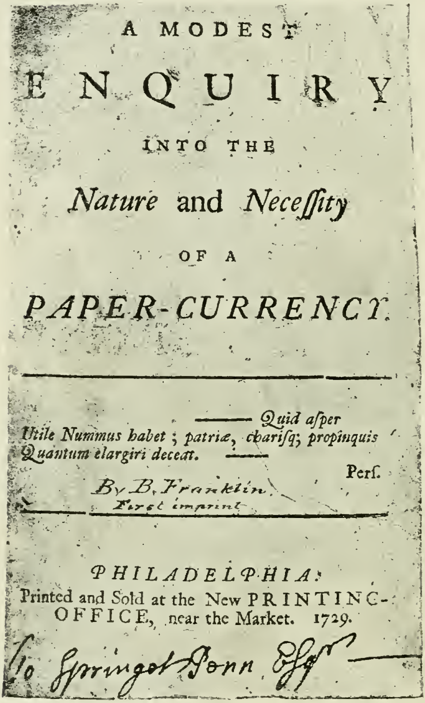
SYMBOLICAL PRINT BY FRANKLIN.
From the " Pennsylvania Gazette," 1754, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

XI

POLITICIAN AND DIPLOMATIST

"THE first mistake in public business is the going into it," remarked Poor Richard, and the worldly-wise sage was speaking from the "experience" which keeps a "dear school," for Franklin, when he penned the sentence, had been over twenty years a public servant. The admonition, however, was little heeded, for he continued to hold office almost unceasingly to the end of his days. "I have heard," he said, "of some great man whose rule it was, with regard to offices, *never to ask for them, and never to refuse them;* to which I have always added, in my own practice, *never to resign them.*" On another occasion he asserted, not altogether truthfully: "I never solicited for a public office, either for myself or any relation, yet I never refused one that I was capable of executing, when public service was in question; and I never bargained for salary, but contented myself with whatever my constituents were pleased to allow me."

Franklin's entrance into politics may be said to date from his beginning to print the "Pennsylvania Gazette," for he relates: "The leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of one who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me," and they gave him, as already told, the public printing. The same year he secured the favor of the populace in another way. "About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper money," and Franklin, taking advantage of it, "wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet . . . entitled 'The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency,'" which "was well receiv'd by the common people in general; but the rich men dislik'd it, for it increas'd and strengthen'd the clamor for more money, and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slacken'd, and the point was carried by a majority in the House." In his twenty years' active labor at his press, the printer succeeded in making it a producer of wealth; but at this time he had yet to learn the lesson that value is made by material and labor, and not by words and promises. Later in life his intercourse with Hume, Price, Turgot, Mirabeau, and, most of all, with Adam Smith, who submitted each chapter of his "Wealth of Nations," "as he composed it," to Franklin for discussion and criticism, opened his eyes to the truths that every paper



A MODEST
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Nature and *Neceſſity*
OF A
PAPER-CURRENCY.

— Quid aſper
Utile Nummus habet; patriæ, chariſq; propinquis
Quantum elargiri deceat. —
Perſ.

By B. Franklin.
First imprint

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold at the New PRINTING-
OFFICE, near the Market. 1729.

To Springet Penn Esqr

FRANKLIN'S "MODEST ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND NECESSITY OF A PAPER CURRENCY."
Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

dollar issued banishes or takes out of circulation a metal one, so long as there is one left, and that beyond that, however the printing-presses may be worked, there will be no more money, the total value of the mass decreasing as rapidly as the volume is swelled, and in excessive issues tending even to fall so sharply as to produce an actual contraction, not augmentation, in the standard of value. "I lament with you," he told a friend, in speaking of the Continental currency, "the many mischiefs, the injustice, the corruption of manners, etc., that attended a depreciating currency. It is some consolation to me, that I washed my hands of that evil by predicting it in Congress, and proposing means that would have been effectual to prevent it, if they had been adopted. Subsequent operations, that I have executed, demonstrate that my plan was practicable; but it was unfortunately rejected."

However erroneous the economic views of the young printer might be, they brought Franklin into political notice, and in 1736 he was chosen clerk of the General Assembly "without opposition"—a place of value aside from its salary, he states, because it gave him "a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secur'd to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobbs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable." The year following he was reappointed, but not unanimously, "a new member" making "a long speech against" him. This opposition disturbed the office-holder, and he sought to placate its originator, not by "servile respect," but by a very typical artifice:

> "Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting he would do

me the favour of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately, and I return'd it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favour. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me (which he had never done before), and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says: '*He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged.*' And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings."

"I now began," Franklin relates, "to turn my thoughts a little to public affairs," and in succession set about methods for bettering the city watch, the fire service, and, somewhat later, the cleaning and paving of the streets. In 1737, as already told, he was made postmaster of Philadelphia, which brought him forward yet more prominently. But most of all it was his pamphlet, "Plain Truth," which, though it "bore somewhat hard on both parties . . . had the happiness not to give much offence to either," that may be said to have made a public man of him. "The share I had in the late Association, and so forth," he wrote, "having given me a little present run of popularity, there was a pretty general intention of choosing me a representative of the city at the next election of Assemblymen; but I have desired all my friends who spoke to me about it to discourage it, declaring that I should not serve if chosen." His wish to keep out of office was idle, however. The governor made him a justice of the peace. This office, Franklin says, "I try'd a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possess'd was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it." The corporation of the city elected him to the common council, and later to the office of alderman, an honor of which his mother doubtingly wrote: "I am glad to hear you are so well respected in your town for them to choose you an Alderman, altho' I don't know what it means, or what the better you will be of it besides the honour of it." Nor did his plea avail to save him from election to the Assembly, for "the citizens at large chose me a burgess to represent them," and "my election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen." Despite his endeavors to escape the office, he confesses that the "station was agreeable to me, as I was at length tired with sitting there to hear debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part, and which were often so unentertaining that I was induc'd to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles, or any thing to avoid weariness."

From this election to the Assembly dates the real beginning of Franklin as a political influence, yet in a very brief space of time he made himself one of the dominant factors. Entering the arena on the question of public defense, he was quickly in opposition to the Penn brothers, the proprietors of the colony, the moot point being the question of taxing the proprietary lands. The popular view was that their lands should bear an equal share, and Franklin became the leader of the party advocating this, his chief opponents being the office-holders and gentry; and for years the contest was waged, with a bitterness and vituperation unexampled in colonial politics, without the aristocratic party being able to defeat him or to prevent him from carrying his measures. At last, however, aided by some assistance from him, they compassed their endeavor. In 1764 the frontiersmen, chiefly Scotch-Irish, believing that the Quaker influence in the Assembly prevented proper measures being taken for the defense of the borders from the hostile Indians, deliberately massacred a small village, men, women, and children, of peaceful and semi-civilized Indians in the interior of the colony, the remnants of the tribe which had welcomed and made the treaty with Penn, their only crime, as Franklin said, being that "they had a reddish-brown skin and black hair." The brutality of the deed fired Franklin, and he wrote an account of it, perhaps the most righteously angry paper he ever penned, in which he mercilessly lashed and well-nigh cursed "the *Christian white savages* of Peckstang and Donegal." This was enough to consolidate the Presbyterian party, not merely on the frontier, but in the city, against him, and in the election of 1764 they united themselves with the proprietary faction. "You can scarcely conceive," he told a friend, "the number of bitter enemies that little piece has raised me among the Irish Presbyterians." Another publication of Franklin's, too, served to gain the coalition of yet a third class of voters. Some years before, in a strictly scientific pamphlet, he had philosophized

THOMAS PENN.

From a photograph by H. H. Hay Cameron, of portrait by Peter Van Dyke, in the possession of the Earl of Ranfurly.

on the question of immigration, and asked, "Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners, to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us?" This was reprinted now to injure him with that people, and succeeded only too well. Yet, though the Irish and German votes were thus united against him,— a combination almost unfailingly successful in America,— and though he was pelted with pamphlets, broadsides, and caricatures impugning his every public act and laying bare his private life, his hold was so great with the masses that he would have been reëlected but for an error of judgment in the party managers. A graphic account of the struggle was written by a Pennsylvanian:

> "The poll was opened about 9 in the morning, the 1st of October, and the steps so crowded, till between 11 and 12 at night, that at no time a person could get up in less than a quarter of an hour from his entrance at the bottom, for they could go no faster than the whole column moved. About 3 in the morning, the advocates for the new ticket moved for a close, but (O! fatal mistake!) the old hands kept it open, as they had a reserve of the aged and lame, which could not come in the crowd, and were called up and brought out in chairs and litters, &c., and some who needed no help, between 3 and 6 o'clock, about 200 voters. As both sides took care to have spies all night, the alarm was given to the new ticket men; horsemen and footmen were immediately dispatched to Germantown, &c., and by 9 or 10 o'clock they began to pour in, so that after the move for a close, 7 or 800 votes were procured; about 500 or near it of which were for the new ticket, and they did not close till

3 in the afternoon, and it took them till 1 next day to count them off."

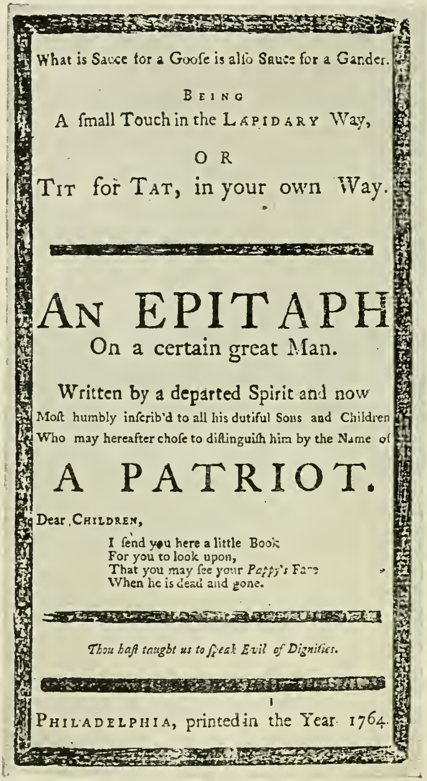
The incident is one of peculiar interest, because it is the only time Franklin ever failed of an election, and, indeed, his political success was so uniform that a Quaker demanded of a mutual acquaintance, "Friend Joseph, didst thee ever know Dr. Franklin to be in a minority?" Yet, though defeat is hardest to the most successful, he seems to have taken it well. "Mr. Franklin," continued the above narrator, "died like a philosopher"; and writing of his opposition to the Paxton rioters, and of the resulting political effect, the defeated assemblyman said: "I had, by this transaction, made myself many enemies among the populace; and the governor (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable), thinking it a favorable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly; which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about twenty-five in four thousand voters."

The triumph to the proprietary party was more apparent than real: though they had succeeded in defeating Franklin, they had not been able to beat his party, for "the other Counties returned nearly the same members who had served them before, so that the old faction" had "still a considerable majority in the House." The Assembly, therefore, when met, chose Franklin its agent to go to Great Britain with a petition to the king that he end the proprietary government; so all his opponents had accomplished was to place him in a position to do them infinitely more injury than would have been possible had he been reëlected to the Assembly.

CARICATURE PRINT OF FRANKLIN AND PAXTON, RIOTERS.

Once already Franklin had been appointed agent of the colony for a similar service, and the importance of these two visits to Great Britain is scarcely to be magnified. It was not that he was able to accomplish all he endeavored for his colony, though in the first mission he had been fairly successful, but that they brought him into relations with many of the leading men in England, immeasurably broadened his horizon, and trained him in diplomacy. When in 1776 Congress sent him across the water to enter into relations with France, it was not a raw, untrained negotiator who went, but one schooled by fourteen years of the most difficult kind of diplomatic service; for colony agents, unlike foreign ministers, were compelled to plead their causes and compass their ends without the argument of the armies and fleets which are so influential a factor in international disputes. Yet so successfully did he perform this difficult task that Pennsylvania rechose him year after year, and in succession Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Georgia voted him their agent, so that in time he came to be the representative of four of the colonies.

Warmly attached as Franklin was to Pennsylvania, he seems never to have been swayed by local interests, as was so common in his time. As early as 1751 he foresaw that a union of the colonies was necessary, and was thinking out methods for overcoming provincial prejudices and antipathies, while marveling that the "Six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such an union and be able to execute it in such a manner, as that it has subsisted ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen *English* colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests." When news came, early in 1754, that the French had driven the English from the forks of the Monongahela, he wrote an editorial comment, in which he warned the people that the enemy would never have dared to commit the aggression but for the "present disunited state of the British Colonies, and the extreme Difficulty of bringing so many different Governments and Assemblies to agree to any speedy and effectual Measures for our common



What is Sauce for a Gooſe is alſo Sauce for a Gander.

BEING
A ſmall Touch in the LAPIDARY Way,
OR
TIT for TAT, in your own Way.

AN EPITAPH
On a certain great Man.

Written by a departed Spirit and now
Moſt humbly inſcrib'd to all his dutiful Sons and Children
Who may hereafter choſe to diſtinguiſh him by the Name of

A PATRIOT.

Dear CHILDREN,

I ſend you here a little Book
For you to look upon,
That you may ſee your *Pappy's* Face
When he is dead and gone.

Thou haſt taught us to ſpeak Evil of Dignities.

PHILADELPHIA, printed in the Year 1764.

A POLITICAL SQUIB AGAINST FRANKLIN.
Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Defence and Security; while our Enemies have the very great Advantage of being under one Direction, with one Council, and one Purse." Then he added a cut symbolizing the condition, which attained such instant popularity that it was frequently reprinted, and which again was used with telling effect at the outbreak of the Revolution, and when the Federal Constitution was under discussion.

Only a few days after this warning, Franklin went to work to put his idea into concrete form. He had been named one of the commissioners to negotiate a war alliance with the Six Nations, and "on his way to the meeting," so he states,

> "I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other important general purposes . . . By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies . . . Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was judg'd to have too much of the *democratic*. . . . The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides the water if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretence for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have

been avoided. But such mistakes are not new: history is full of errors of states and princes."

Franklin was too inherently the statesman not to look further than the mere union of the American colonies, and almost from his entrance into public affairs he was considering the relation between the colonies and the mother-country, and striving to find means to maintain it. Years before ill feeling had been developed, he declared: "I have long been of opinion, that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected." "With the increase of the colonies," he predicted, "a vast demand is growing for British manufactures, a glorious market wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase in a short time even beyond her power of supplying, though her whole trade should be to her colonies; therefore, Britain should not too much restrain manufactures in her colonies. A wise and good mother will not do it. To distress is to weaken, and weakening the children weakens the whole family." And with true prescience he wrote:

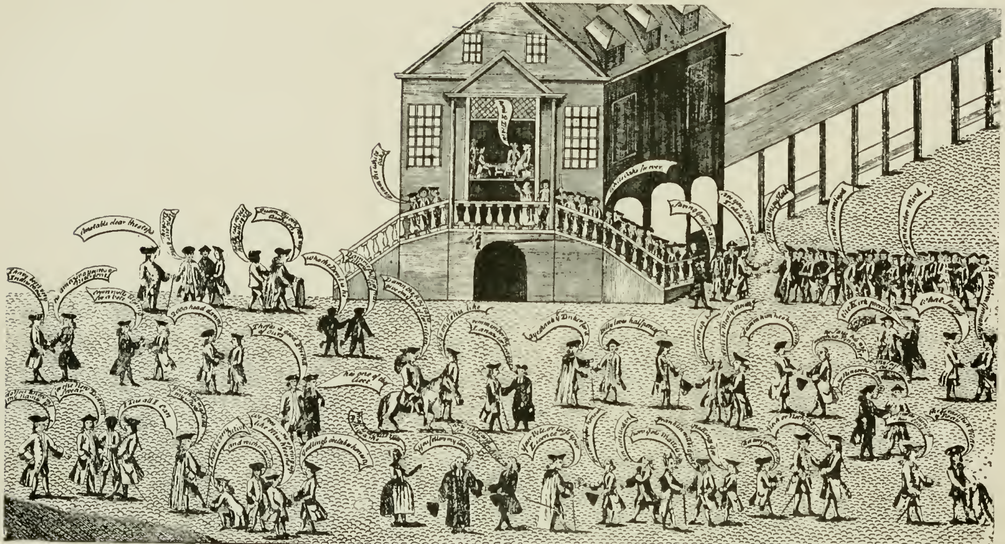
"It has long appeared to me that the only true British policy was that which aimed at the good of the *whole British empire*, not that which sought the advantage of *one part* in the disadvantage of the others; therefore all measures of procuring gain to the mother country arising from loss to her colonies, and all of gain to the colonies arising from or occasion-ing loss to Britain, especially where the gain was small and the loss great, every abridgment of the power of the mother country, where that power was not prejudicial to the liberties of the colonists, and every diminution of the privileges of the colonists, where they were not prejudicial to the welfare of the mother country, I, in my own mind, condemned as improper, partial, unjust, and mischievous, tending to create dissensions, and weaken that union on which the strength, solidity, and duration of the empire greatly depended."

As this implied, Franklin was a warm partizan of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies. Even after the Stamp and Revenue acts should have shown him how selfishly bent on her own narrow interest the mother-country was, he ascribed those measures solely to a corrupt Parliament, and expressed the hope that "nothing that has happened, or may happen, will diminish in the least our loyalty to our Sovereign, or affection for this nation in general. I can scarcely conceive a King of better dispositions, of more exemplary virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the welfare of all his subjects. The experience we have had of the family in the two preceding mild reigns, and the good temper of our young princes, so far as can yet be discovered, promise us a continuance of this felicity." As for the colonies, he said: "They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard To be an *Old-England* man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us." Thus he wrote when America was ablaze with opposition to the parliamentary acts, but still he could assert:

> "And yet there remains among the people so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force or any considerable expense. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it."

In answer to the charge that the colonies desired independence, he replied: "The Americans have too much love for their mother country," and he assured Lord Chatham "that, having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."

Feeling this strong loyalty himself, Franklin worked unendingly to prevent the breach. Convinced as he was that "the government cannot long be maintained without the union" of the two, he retorted, when it was urged that in time the colonies by their growth would become the dominant half: "Which is best, (supposing your case) — to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?" Early and late he preached the necessity of a closer union, but it fell on ears deafened by self and immediate interests, and he was forced to acknowledge that all his arguments were in vain, for



Tune, Vicar 1 of B *THE ELECTION* a MEDLEY, *Humbly Inscribed to Squire* Lilliput *Professor of* SCURRILITY.

CARICATURE OF ELECTION OF 1764.
In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

> "The Parliament here do at present think too highly of themselves to admit representatives from us, if we should ask it; and, when they will be desirous of granting it, we shall think too highly of ourselves to accept it. It would certainly contribute to the strength of the whole, if Ireland and all the dominions were united and consolidated under one common council for general purposes, each retaining its particular council or parliament for its domestic concerns. But this should have been early provided for. In the infancy of our foreign establishments it was neglected, or was not thought of. And now the affair is nearly in the situation of Friar Bacon's project of making a brazen wall round England for its eternal security. His servant, Friar Bungey, slept while the brazen head, which was to dictate how it might be done, said, *Time is*, and *Time was*. He only waked to hear it say, *Time is past*. An explosion followed, that tumbled their house about the conjurer's ears."

"If such an union," he argued, "were now established (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of the whole." "Every man in England," he complained, "seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the colonies*," and with real indignation he charged that "angry writers use their utmost efforts to persuade us that this war with the colonies (for a war it will be) is a national cause, when in fact it is a ministerial one." The British, he maintained, "have no idea that any people can act from any other principle but that of interest; and they believe that three pence in a pound of tea, of which one does perhaps drink ten pounds in a year, is sufficient to overcome all the patriotism of an American."

In noting, however, that "the English *feel* but they do not *see*; that is, they are sensible of inconveniences when they are present, but do not take sufficient care to prevent them," he was too inherently fair-minded not to acknowledge the faults of the colonies as well, and especially of those politicians who were striving to foment divisions. "I think the New Yorkers have been very discreet in forbearing to write and publish against the late act of Parliament," he wrote to a friend in America. "I wish the Boston people had been as quiet, since Governor Bernard has sent over all their violent papers to the ministry, and wrote them word that he daily expected a rebellion." When the mob in Boston destroyed the tea, he grieved over a lawlessness which had "united all parties in England against the American cause"; and though he was the agent for Massachusetts, he risked his position by honestly telling the leaders in that province that "I cannot but hope that the affair of the tea will have been considered in the Assembly before this time, and satisfaction proposed if not made; for such a step will remove much of the prejudice now entertained against us, and put us again on a fair footing in contending for our old privileges as occasion may require." When his advice was disregarded he complained: "And so we shall go on injuring and provoking each other instead of cultivating that good-will and harmony so necessary to the general welfare."

Again and again he begged the extremists in Massachusetts not to excite the people, for all the ends desired could be gained by peaceful methods far more certainly than by law-breaking and violence. "In the meantime I must hope that great care will be taken to keep our people quiet," he advised, "since nothing is more wished for by our enemies than, by insurrections, we should give a good pretence for increasing the military among us, and putting us under more severe restraints." His fear, he declared, was

> "That imprudencies on both sides may, step by step, bring on the most mischievous consequences. It is imagined here, that this act will enforce immediate compliance; and, if the people should be quiet, content themselves with the laws they have, and let the matter rest, till in some future war the King, wanting aids from them, and finding himself restrained in his legislation by the act as much as the people, shall think fit by his ministers to propose the repeal, the Parliament will be greatly disappointed; and perhaps it may take this turn. I wish nothing worse may happen."

If but the people could be kept quiet for a time, Franklin held, the outcome could not be doubtful. "It must be evident," he affirmed, "that by our rapidly increasing strength, we shall soon become of so much importance that none of our just claims of privilege will be, as heretofore, unattended to, nor any security we can wish for our rights be denied us." So he counseled even a submission to the parliamentary encroachments, certain that their period must be brief.

> "The colonies are rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers," he pointed out. "In the last war they maintained an

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN, LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, FIRST EARL OF ROSSLYN.
From the original in the National Portrait Gallery, by William Owen, R.A.

army of twenty-five thousand. A country able to do that is no contemptible ally. In another war they may perhaps do twice as much with equal ease. Whenever a war happens our aid will be wished for, our friendship desired and cultivated, our good-will courted. Then is the time to say, '*Redress our grievances.* You take money from us by force, and now you ask it of voluntary grant. You cannot have it both ways. If you choose to have it without our consent, you must go on taking it in that way, and be content with what little you can so obtain. If you would have our free gifts, desist from your compulsive methods, and acknowledge our rights, and secure our future enjoyment of them.' Our claims will then be attended to, and our complaints regarded."

However much he might counsel moderate opposition and even temporary submission, he did so because he believed it the most certain way of obtaining justice from Great Britain, and not because he thought her conduct either prudent or justifiable. Long before the attempt to tax the colonies, and, so far as known, before any other American had protested against such a course, he claimed that "It is supposed to be an undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent given through their representatives."

His opposition to parliamentary taxation began with the earliest attempt. To a friend he wrote: "Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself, to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can." When, contrary to his expectation, the colonies refused to allow the act to be enforced, and a movement to repeal the act began, he told another: "You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning till night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of it, being called before the House of Commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Enclosed I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination."

How strongly he felt the rights of his native land was shown by something else he wrote at this time, in which he asserted that:

> "I can only judge of others by myself. I have some little property in America. I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend the right of giving or refusing the other shilling, and, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger."

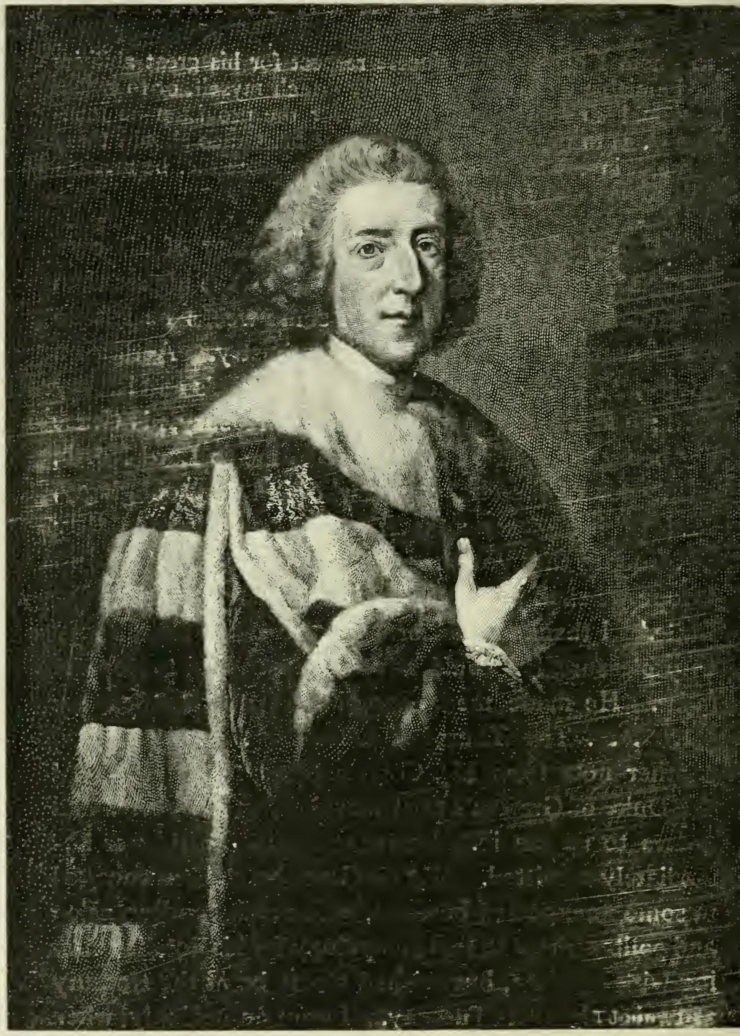
While other pleaders of the American cause were striving to explain previous acquiescences in parliamentary legislation, he saw the futility of such attempts, and took up the one consistent position: "The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion that no middle doctrine can be well maintained, I mean not clearly with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes; that Parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty than those for the former." This doctrine was so in advance of what even the most extreme partizans of American rights thought of asserting that Franklin never advocated it publicly. On the contrary, he was prepared to accept any compromise which would satisfy the two countries, his purpose being to bring about a return of good feeling.

Undoubtedly this desire to keep a middle ground was partly induced by his dual office-holding, for in these years in which he labored so unceasingly to prevent separation he held the royal office of joint Deputy Postmaster-General from the crown, and several agencies from the colonies, and Franklin loved public office too well to wish to risk the loss of either. So strong, in fact, was the itch that, upon it being hinted to him that he might be given a better crown position than that he held, he did everything in his power to gain the favor of those in office. A vague message from the Duke of Grafton suggesting this as a possibility was sufficient to make Franklin assure the go-between, to use his own words:

> "I was extremely sensible of the Duke's goodness . . . and very thankful for his favorable disposition towards me; that, having lived long in England, and contracted a friendship and affection for many persons here, it could not but be agreeable to me to remain among them some time longer, if not for the rest of my life; and that there was no nobleman

to whom I could, from sincere respect for his great abilities and amiable qualities, so cordially attach myself, or to whom I should so willingly be obliged for the provision he mentioned, as to the Duke of Grafton, if his Grace should think I could, in any station where he might place me, be serviceable to him and to the public."

As if this was not a sufficient forgetting of his own aphorism that "a ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees," for some weeks he left no stone unturned to cultivate the ministry. Acting on advice, "I accordingly called at the Duke's and left my card; and when I went next to the treasury, his Grace not being there, Mr. Cooper carried me to Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer, who said very obligingly, after talking of some American affairs, 'I am told by Mr. Cooper that you are not unwilling to stay with us. I hope we shall find some way of making it worth your while.' I thanked his Lordship, and said I should stay with pleasure, if I could any ways be useful to government. He made me a compliment and I took my leave . . . The Thursday following . . . I received another note from Mr. Cooper, directing me to be at the Duke of Grafton's next morning, whose porter had orders to let me in. I went accordingly, and was immediately admitted. But his Grace being then engaged in some unexpected business, with much condescension and politeness made that an apology for his not discoursing with me then, but wished me to be at the treasury at twelve the next Tuesday. I went accordingly, when Mr. Cooper told me something had called the Duke into the country, and the board was put off, which was



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. (PAINTED BY RICHARD BROMPTON.)
In the National Portrait Gallery.

not known till it was too late to send me word; but he was glad I was come, as he might then fix another day for me to go again with him into the country. . . . He assures me the Duke has it at heart to do something for me." All the office-seeker's complaisance, however, proved but a waste of time. "Instead of my being appointed to a new office," he had to tell his son, "there has been a motion made to deprive me of that I now hold, and, I believe, for the same reason, though that was not the reason given out, viz., my being too much of an American." Once assured that he was to receive no new appointment, there was an amusing change in his attitude.

> "I am now grown too old to be ambitious of such a station as that which you say has been mentioned," he wrote. "Repose is more fit for me, and much more suitable to my wishes. There is no danger of such a thing being offered to me, and I am sure I shall never ask it. But even if it were offered, I certainly could not accept it, to act under such instructions as I know must be given with it."

Whether love of country or love of office was the governing motive for his endeavors to maintain or restore concord, he narrowly escaped the usual fate of the go-between. Because he counseled acquiescence in the Stamp Act, and had a friend nominated to a stamp commissionership, he was deemed in America to be little better than a traitor, and popular anger against him was so fanned by his political opponents that there was danger for a time of a mob taking vengeance on his family and property. Fortunately for Franklin, he was summoned before Parliament and questioned, at the time that body was considering the repeal of the Stamp Act, and he published this "Examination" in a pamphlet, which proved remarkably popular, quieted the furor against him, and once more brought him into favor.

Despite this self-vindication, as he continued to counsel moderate measures, Franklin was from this time mistrusted by such Whigs as James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Dickinson, R. H. Lee, and other extremists, and they did not consider him as belonging to their party. Yet this did not gain him favor with the government party in Great Britain, and after years of labor he could only describe his position as follows:

> "Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connexions of friendship in the other, I wish all prosperity to both; but I have talked and written so much and so long on the subject, that my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading, any more of it, which begins to make me weary of talking and writing; especially as I do not find that I have gained any point in either country, except that of rendering myself suspected by my impartiality;—in England, of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much an Englishman."

It was in 1774 that the maintenance of this mediatorial position was made impossible to him by a famous sequence of events. Complaining to "a gentleman of character and distinction" of the sending of troops to Boston, and the other repressive measures, Franklin was assured that none of them originated with the ministry, but were "solicited and obtained by some of the most respectable of the Americans themselves, as necessary measures for the welfare of that country." Upon Franklin doubting his statement, "he called on me some days after and produced to me . . . letters from Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver and others," recommending the sending of troops and men-of-war, and advising that in the colonies "there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties." "Though astonished, I could not but confess myself convinced." With these in his possession, the colony agent believed it possible to bring about a reconciliation, and he begged permission to let his countrymen know of their existence, for he honestly believed that this would end the ill feeling against Great Britain, and place it instead upon the shoulders of the letter-writers. In this judgment he was entirely correct, for he was shortly able to write the colonial secretary that "a sincere disposition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother country . . . and it is said that having immediately discovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people, their resentment against Britain is thence much abated."

Unfortunately for the hope of the colony agent, the British ministry, which for years had been vacillating in the policy to be pursued as regards America, was at that moment in one of its numerous periods of reaction, and, with a folly which to-day seems unbelievable, instead of availing itself of this opportunity, it sought to use it as a means of destroying the one American who had consistently striven to heal the breach. Upon a hearing before the Privy Council of a petition from

Massachusetts Bay for the removal from office of the writers of these criminatory letters, instead of dealing with the petition, the solicitor-general, Alexander Wedderburn, launched into a savage personal attack upon Franklin, whom he charged with having obtained the letters by fraud, if not by theft.

> "I hope, my Lords," he said, "you will mark and brand the man, for the honor of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred, in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion. He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters*; *homo* TRIUM [that is, FUR, or *thief*] *literarum!*"

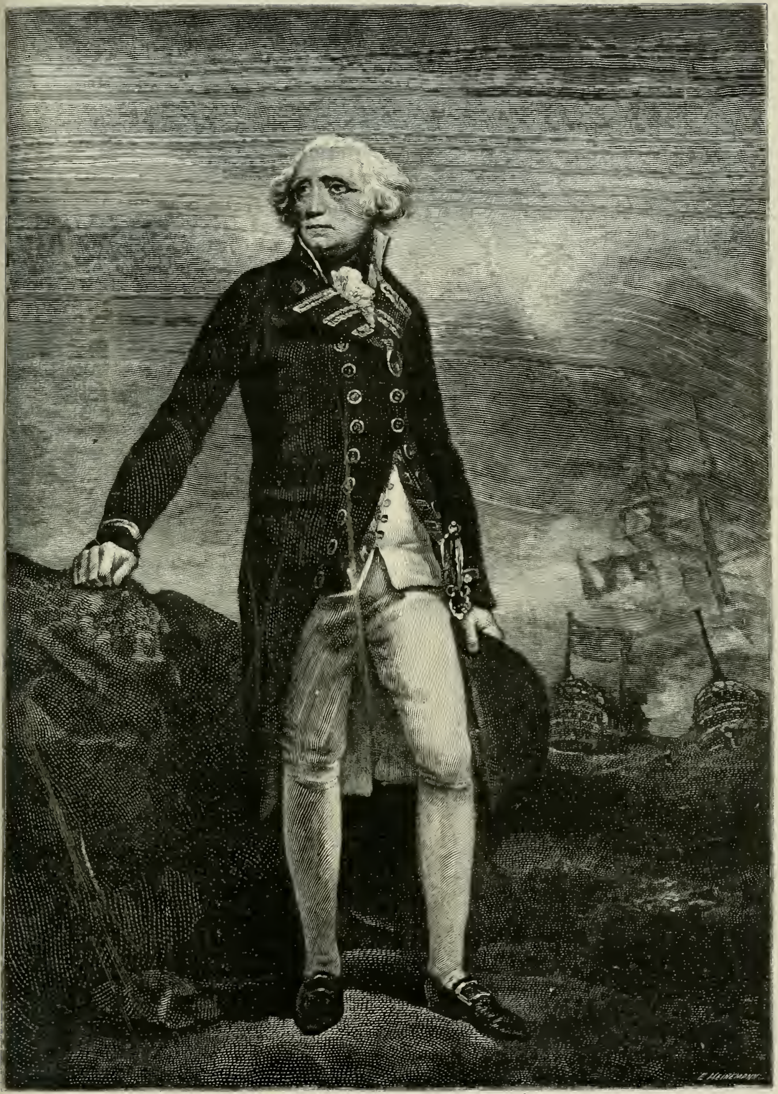
Then, after reasserting the sacredness of a private correspondence, he continued:

> "This property is as sacred and as precious to Gentlemen of integrity, as their family plate or jewels are. And no man who knows the Whatelys, will doubt, but that they would much sooner have chosen, that any person should have taken their plate and sent it to Holland for his avarice, than that he should have secreted the letters of their friends, their brother's friend, and their father's friend, and sent them away to Boston to gratify an enemy's malice. . . . A foreign Ambassador when residing here, just before the breaking out of a war, or upon particular occasions, may bribe a villain to steal or betray any state papers; he is under the command of another state, and is not amenable to the laws of the country where he resides; and the secure exemption from punishment may induce a laxer morality. But Mr. Franklin, whatever he may teach the people at Boston, while he is *here* at least is a subject."

There has been much discussion as to whether Franklin acted honorably in transmitting these letters, which might have been saved had his own simple statement been properly weighed. The letters were shown him by a personal friend, a member of Parliament, "whom I am not at present permitted to name," but who, Franklin asserts, was "a gentleman of character and distinction." The colony agent, deeming it "my *duty* to give my constituents intelligence of such importance to their affairs," finally won from this friend the privilege of sending the letters to the Massachusetts leaders. It is clear, therefore, that he had no reason to believe that they had been wrongfully obtained, or that his friend had not the right to allow him to transmit them; on the contrary, he declared that "he came by them honorably." If blame there is, it must rest on this still unknown man, and Franklin, in bearing all the vituperation which was heaped upon him, was but sacrificing himself to shield another. The probabilities favor the view that this was William Strahan, whose position as printer to the king made it necessary that his share should remain unknown.

Wedderburn's attack was, with the facts at his disposal, wholly unjustifiable, and would have been without weight but for the circumstances which produced it, for his speech was in truth but the expression, Franklin says, of "a court clamor . . . raised against me as an incendiary." "And the decrying and the vilifying of the people of that country, and me as their agent among the rest, was quite a court measure." His assertions are proved by the conduct of the Privy Council, for, without even a pretense of judging the cause before them, during Wedderburn's speech "all the members of the Council, the President himself (Lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright." Another eye-witness states that "he made them so far forget themselves, and the character in which they officiated, as to cry out, Hear him! Hear him!'" and Franklin speaks of their frequently breaking into applause. One of the ablest lawyers of the period, and one fitted to hold the scales impartially, in his account of the trial, said: "I had the grievous mortification to hear Mr. Wedderburn wandering from the proper question before their Lordships, pour forth such a torrent of virulent abuse on Dr. Franklin as never before took place within the compass of my knowledge of judicial proceedings, his reproaches appearing to me incompatible with the principles of law, truth, justice, propriety and humanity."

Franklin took this attack calmly, but none the less it stung him deeply. However bitterly he felt, personally, he still, though further injured by being deprived of his office of joint Deputy Postmaster-General, strove to bring about some agreement. "I long labored in England," he asserted later, "with great zeal and sincerity, to prevent the breach that has happened, and which is now so wide that no endeavors of mine can possibly heal it. You know the treatment I met with from that imprudent court; but I keep a separate account of private injuries, which I may forgive; and I do not think it right to mix them with public affairs." With Lord Chatham, who sent for him, he discussed the possibility



RICHARD, EARL HOWE, K.G. (PAINTED BY HENRY SINGLETON.)
In the National Portrait Gallery.

of reconciling the two countries, and was present by his invitation when the earl made his motion in the House of Lords for the withdrawal of the troops from Boston, and again when he submitted a plan of conciliation; indeed, Franklin was charged in the ensuing debate with being the author of it. Nor did he limit his efforts to those in opposition, but brought into relation with Lord Howe, the chosen instrument of the ministry, already "ashamed" of the treatment accorded to him, by the earl's sister, Mrs. Howe, with whom he played at chess, he did his utmost to reach some common ground of agreement. Howe promised to grant Franklin, if he would but secure the pacification of the colonies, "any reward in the power of government to bestow," a promise which Franklin said was to him "what the French vulgarly call *spitting in the soup*." But not taking offense, he agreed that, if Lord Howe received the appointment of commissioner to America, and the propositions to that country were such as met his approval, he would gladly go as his secretary. He even guaranteed, "without any instruction to warrant my so doing, or assurance that I should be reimbursed, or my conduct approved," that the tea should be paid for, if the colonies were but granted justice, "an engagement in which I must have risked my whole fortune." All these negotiations came to nothing, however, and when at last convinced that it was but a waste of time, he took ship for America.

The abuse and persecution the ministry had heaped upon Franklin had not merely restored his former popularity in America, but had enormously added to it.

He was quickly elected to the Continental Congress, to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and to the Pennsylvania Convention. Congress appointed him Postmaster-General and a member of many important committees; Pennsylvania made him chairman of the Committee of Safety, which was practically the governorship of the colony, and the Convention chose him for their president. "My time," he wrote a friend, "was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till four in the afternoon."

How Franklin avoided, so far as possible, any share in the drafting of the public papers of the Congress has been told already. Nor was he more forward in debate. It was Poor Richard who remarked, "Here comes the orator, with his flood of words, and his drop of reason," and during his whole life Franklin was no speech-maker. "I served," Jefferson said, "with General Washington in the legislature of Virginia before the revolution, and during it, with Dr. Franklin in Congress. I never heard either of them speak ten minutes at a time, nor to any but the main point which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great points, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves." Franklin himself bears this out by saying that "I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my points." John Adams, in one of his periodic outbursts against the man whom the public deemed greater than himself, contrasted his own services in Congress, in which he claimed to have been "active and alert in every branch of business, both in the House and on committees, constantly proposing measures, supporting those I approved when moved by others, opposing such as I disapproved, discussing and arguing on every question," with those of Franklin, who was seen, he says, "from day to day, sitting in silence, a great part of his time fast asleep in his chair." Yet Franklin was appointed on every important committee, and Adams on few; and the sage, could he but have read his brother congressman's comparison, might fairly have retorted, with the wisdom of Poor Richard, "He that speaks much, is much mistaken," or, "The worst wheel of the cart makes the most noise."

However little Franklin may have seemed to have accomplished to those who elected to think so, one service he attempted is not to be passed over. As he had been among the first to suggest a union of the colonies under Great Britain, so he was foremost in advocating their immediate union in their contest with the mother-country; and long before the majority of Congress saw the wisdom of the purpose, or were even willing to consider it, he drafted and laid before that body his Articles of Confederation, the first true step toward a national union. In the politics of Pennsylvania, too, he wielded a most dominating influence, for it was chiefly through his exertions that the old Penn charter was abrogated, and a new republican constitution obtained in its stead. In the effecting of this change, too, he succeeded in finally crushing the proprietary or aristocratic party, which had fought him with such bitterness for over twenty years, so that never again did it recover its influence in the State — a blow the leading families never forgave, and the resentment of which expresses itself socially even to this day in Philadelphia.

THE HON. MRS. HOWE. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HOPWOOD OF THE DRAWING BY CRAIG.)
In the Emmet collection, Lenox Library, New York.

Vital as were his labors in local politics, in the Congress, in Canada, at Cambridge, and at Staten Island, he was more needed, and in fact seems to have been preordained by nature and training, for another service. Once the war, from being an attempt to wrest rights from an acknowledged sovereign, became a conflict to maintain independence, the new-formed country turned for assistance to France, then the great enemy of Britain. Almost alone of the congressmen, Franklin had traveled in that country, and had both friends and repute there. Even more important, however, was the fact that already semi-approaches had been made to him by those in authority. Years before, when the excitement over the new doctrine of colonial taxation was sounding a warning which the British people would not hear, there were others quick to heed the murmur of discontent and complaint, and to recognize in it a means for injuring their foe as they had never yet been able to do. But if the times were ripening, the colony agent was not yet ready to part with old lamps for new ones.

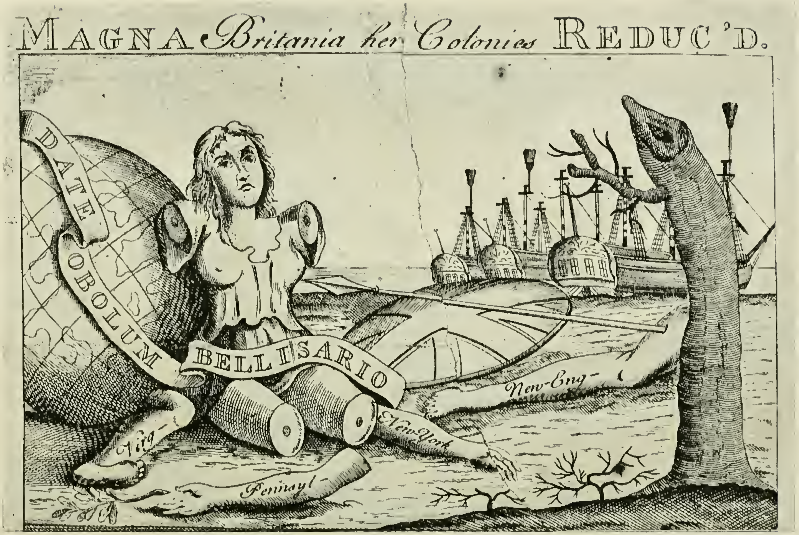
> "Du Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home," he relates, "and Monsieur Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity."

Not quite ten years after this was written, Franklin was sailing across the Atlantic, one of three commissioners sent to beg the aid of France; and to an English friend who chided him for disloyalty, he replied:

> "I was fond to a folly of our British connections, and it was with infinite regret that I saw the necessity you would force us into of breaking it. But the extreme cruelty with which we have been treated has now extinguished every thought of returning to it, and separated us for ever. You have thereby lost limbs that will never grow again."

It has been said of Franklin by the historian of American diplomacy that he must be considered the one true diplomat America has ever produced; and when his services, and the circumstances under which they were rendered, are weighed, the statement seems justifiable. Almost from the moment of his arrival in Paris, he came to exercise an influence with the French ministry which can hardly be exaggerated. The reiterated charge of his enemies was that he was the tool of France and always acted in her interests; but his successor in office, Jefferson, who was of all men the best fitted to know the truth of this, asserted:

> "As to the charge of subservience to France, . . . two years of my own service with him at Paris, daily visits, and the most friendly and confidential conversation, convince me it had not a shadow of foundation. He possessed the confidence of that government in the highest degree, insomuch, that it may truly be said, that they were more under his influence, than he under theirs. The fact is, that his temper was so amiable and conciliatory, his conduct so rational, never urging impossibilities, or even things unreasonably inconvenient to them, in short, so moderate and attentive to their difficulties, as well as our own, that what his enemies called subservience, I saw was only that reasonable disposition, which, sensible that advantages are not all to be on one



A SYMBOLICAL PLATE DESIGNED BY FRANKLIN.
Original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

side, yielding what is just and liberal, is the more certain of obtaining liberality and justice. Mutual confidence produces, of course, mutual influence, and this was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France."

This individual opinion all the documentary evidence goes to reinforce, and it is impossible, in studying it, not to conclude that the opposition to and attacks upon Franklin by his own countrymen were due primarily to the dislike and the jealousy of his fellow-commissioners, Lee and Adams, who, unable to compete with him in France, were driven to raise a cabal against him in America, composed of almost the identical elements which endeavored to bring about the removal of Washington from the command of the armies, and which successfully wrought the political ruin of John Dickinson and Robert Morris. "Dr. Franklin," Jefferson long after said, "had many political enemies, as every character must, which, with decision enough to have opinions, has energy and talent to give them effect on the feelings of the adversary opinion. These enmities were chiefly in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In the former, they were merely of the proprietary party. In the latter, they did not commence till the Revolution, and then sprung chiefly from personal animosities, which spreading by little and little, became at length of some extent. Dr. Lee was his principal calumniator, a man of much malignity, who, besides enlisting his whole family in the same hostility, was enabled, as the agent of Massachusetts with the British government, to infuse it into that State with considerable effect. Mr.

Izard, the Doctor's enemy also, but from a pecuniary transaction, never countenanced these charges against him. Mr. Jay, Silas Deane, Mr. Laurens, his colleagues also, ever maintained towards him unlimited confidence and respect."

Strangely enough, Franklin was saved from his countrymen by the intervention of France. Very early in the mission the ministry of that country deliberately took the step of ignoring Franklin's fellow-commissioners, and again and again, in granting aids, stipulated to him that Lee and Adams should know nothing; and so Franklin was forced repeatedly, in writing to Congress, to tell them that "the other commissioners are not acquainted with this proposition as yet . . . I being expressly enjoined not to communicate it to any other person, not even to the other gentlemen." It was not strange, under these circumstances, that his fellow-commissioners united in abusing him. Lee complained that "if Dr. Franklin's jealousy and intolerant spirit, together with the artifices successively employed, had not incapacitated the other from serving their country and the common cause by their advice and information," many imaginary ills would not have come to pass; and Adams asserted that Vergennes made Franklin his confidant only "because he could manage him as he pleased." Their fellow-commissioner took all their abuse and plotting calmly, and one anecdote will serve to show how little it moved him:

"Mr. Z. [Adams] while at Paris had often pressed the Dr. to communicate to him his several negotiations with the Ct.

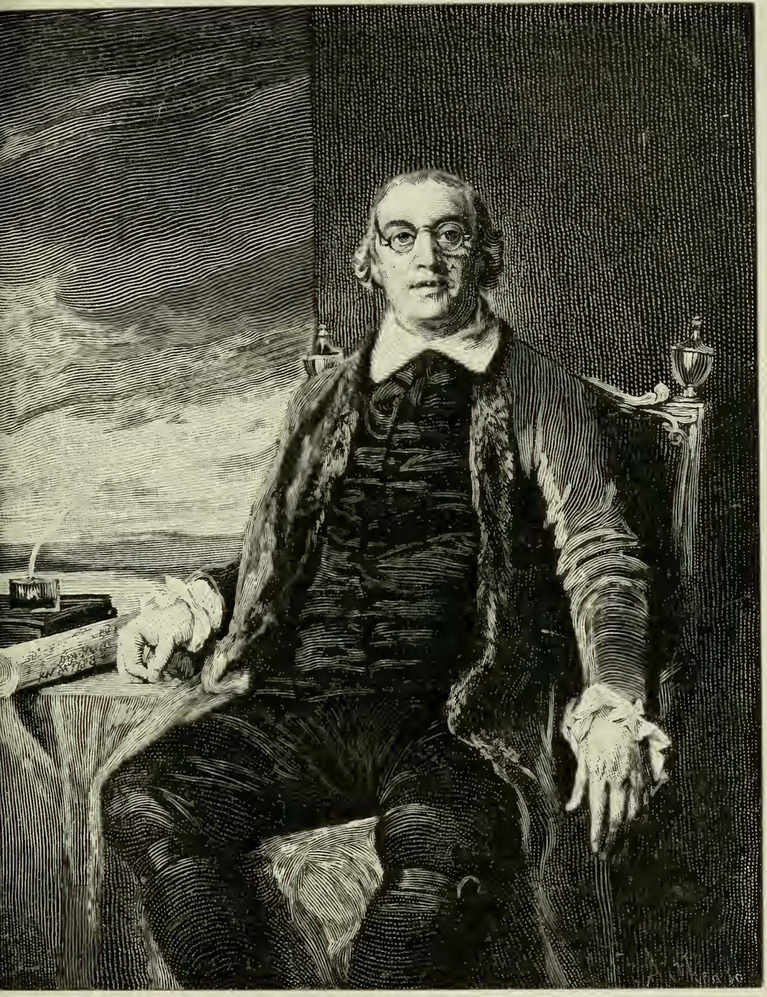
of France, wch. the Dr. avoided as decently as he could. At length he received from Mr. Z. [Adams] a very intemperate letter. He folded it up and put it into a pigeon hole. A 2d, 3d & so on to a fifth or sixth he recd. & disposed of in the same way. Finding no answer could be obtained by letter, Mr. Z. [Adams] paid him a personal visit & gave a loose to all the warmth of which he was susceptible. The Dr. replied, I can no more answer this conversation than the several impatient letters you have written me, (taking them down from the pigeon hole,) call on me when you are cool & good humored & I will justify myself to you."

"Dr. Lee's accusation of Capt. Landais for insanity," wrote Franklin, "was probably well founded; as in my opinion would have been the same accusation, if it had been brought by Landais against Lee; for though neither of them are permanently mad, they are both so at times; and the insanity of the latter is the most mischievous." Of Adams he said: "The extravagant and violent language held here by a public person, in public company, which have a tendency to diminish the union with France, are here, and I hope there [in America], imputed to the true cause — a disorder in the brain, which, though not constant, has its fits too frequent." Whether it was jealousy or insanity, the time came when, practically, the public business had come to a standstill, and, convinced of this, Franklin offered to resign; but the French government interfered, and through their American envoy secured the recall of Franklin's rivals, and the election of Franklin as sole minister to France.

"The Congress have done me the honor," Franklin said, "to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned to me, that I should ask as a favor what they hoped to vex me by taking from me; and that I should nevertheless be continued. But this sort of consideration should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an honor, and I really esteem it to be a greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interest of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it."

An interesting feature of these years of negotiation were the indirect overtures made Franklin by the British ministry. Though George III was convinced that "hatred of this country is the constant object of his mind," he yet thought it "proper to keep open the channel of intercourse with that insidious man," and through David Hartley and other informal agents he endeavored to negotiate an arrangement which should regain at least a nominal sovereignty over the colonies, and by ending the war with them enable England "to avenge the faithless and insolent conduct of France." But Franklin held that "the true political interest of America consists in observing and fulfilling, with the greatest exactitude, the engagements of our alliance with France, and behaving at the same time towards England so as not entirely to extinguish her hopes of a reconciliation," and so he refused to play false to an ally, or consider a reunion with Great Britain, on any terms.

"You may please yourselves and your children," he told one of these negotiators, "with the rattle of your right to govern



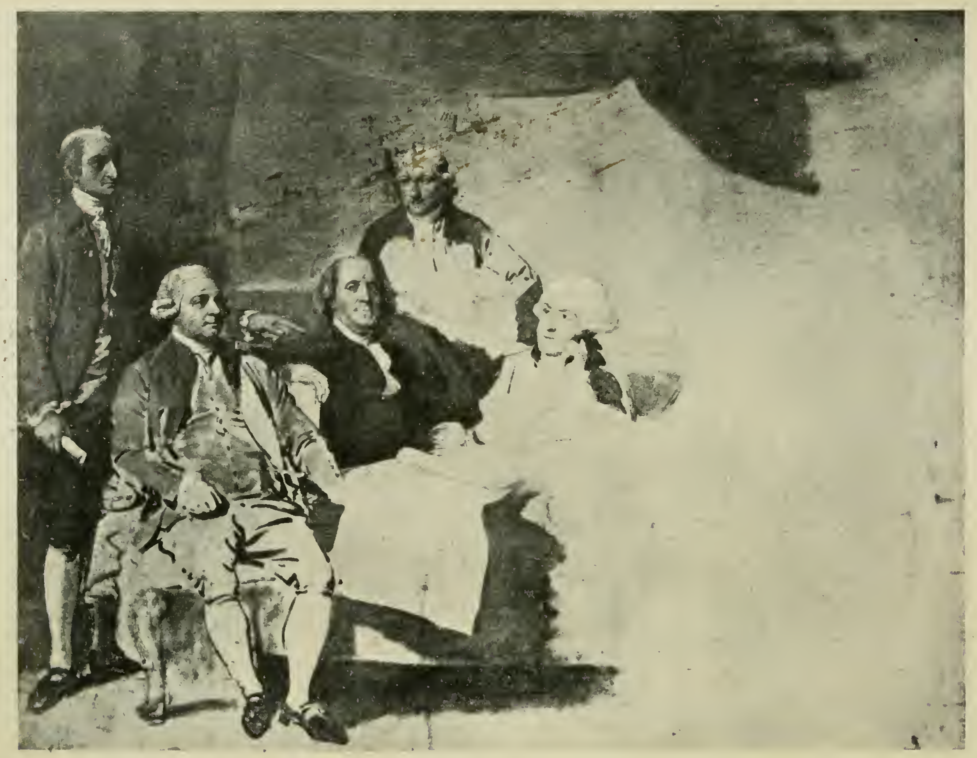
DAVID HARTLEY.

From the painting by Walker of the portrait by Romney, formerly owned by Clarence W. Bement, Esq.

us, as long as you have done with that of your king's being king of France, without giving us the least concern, if you do not attempt to exercise it. That this pretended right is indisputable, as you say, we utterly deny. Your Parliament never had a right to govern us, and your king has forfeited it by his bloody tyranny."

"The English seem not to know either how to continue the war, or to make peace with us," he told Washington, even after Yorktown; but finally a treaty was concluded, and, his work done, he turned homeward, writing to the Englishman who had striven most for peace the following farewell: "I cannot quit the coasts of Europe without taking leave of my ever dear friend, Mr. Hartley. We were long fellow-laborers in the best of all works, the work of peace. I leave you still in the field, but, having finished my day's task, I am going home *to go to bed.* Wish me a good night's rest, as I do you a pleasant evening."

This hope for a rest was but illusive. No sooner had he landed at Philadelphia than "the two parties in the Assembly and Council, the constitutionists and anti-constitutionists, joined in requesting my service as counsellor, and afterwards in electing me as President. Of seventy-four members in Council and Assembly, who voted by ballot, there was in my first election but one negative, besides my own." "I had on my return some right," he acknowledged to a friend, "to expect repose; and it was my intention to avoid all public business. But I had not firmness enough to resist the unanimous desire of my country folks; and I find myself harnessed again in their service for another year.

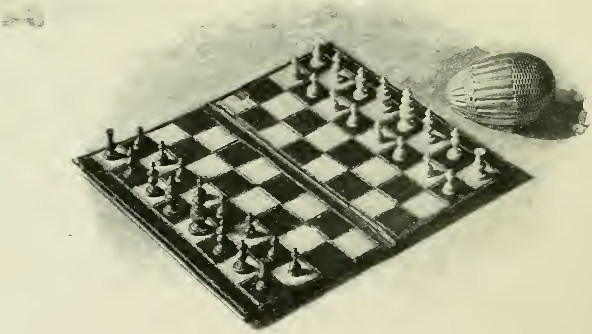


THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS TO NEGOTIATE THE TREATY OF PEACE (1783).

They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick my bones."

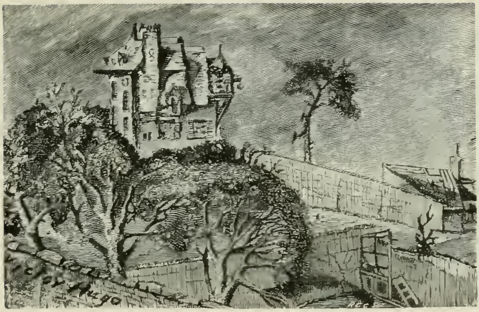
It is poetically appropriate that his last public service was performed in the Federal Convention, and that no man in that body contributed more to bring about the lasting union of the States, of which he had been among the earliest suggestors, and for which he had worked so unceasingly. His closing remarks, "whilst the last members were signing," form a fitting end to his own career.

> " Dr. Franklin, looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish, in their art, a rising from a setting sun. 'I have,' said he, 'often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting sun.' "



FRANKLIN'S CHESS-BOARD, CHESSMEN, AND HOLDER.

In the possession of C. S. Bradford, Philadelphia, Pa.



VICTOR HUGO'S DRAWING OF FRANKLIN'S HOUSE AT PASSY.

XII

SOCIAL LIFE

"THE busy man," quoth Poor Richard, "has few idle Visitors; to the boiling Pot the Flies come not." But this was only one of his many aphorisms which he himself disproved, for, however manifold his occupations, there never seems to have been the time when he had not friends, and the time to see them. With his first arrival in Philadelphia, he relates that "I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly." So in London, during his short sojourn there, he went to the taverns, and made friends of the "ingenious" frequenters. In his voyage back to Philadelphia, too, an incident served to show his social inclinations. A passenger was detected marking a pack of cards, was tried for it by his fellow-voyagers, and being convicted, he was condemned to pay a fine, and upon his refusal was "excommunicated" by the "mess," every "one refusing to play, eat, drink or converse with him." The embryo philosopher of twenty thereupon noted in his journal that:

> "Man is a sociable being, and it is, for aught I know, one of the worst of punishments to be excluded from society. I have read abundance of fine things on the subject of solitude, and I know 't is a common boast in the mouths of those that affect to be thought wise, *that they are never less alone than when alone*. I acknowledge solitude an agreeable refreshment to a busy mind; but, were these thinking people obliged to be always alone, I am apt to think they would quickly find their very being insupportable to them."

Once established in Philadelphia, as already told, he founded the social club of the Junto. For this little society Franklin ever retained the warmest feelings. Many years after its beginning, he wrote from England to a fellow-member:

> "I wish you would continue to meet the Junto, notwithstanding that some effects of our public political misunderstandings may sometimes appear there. It is now perhaps one of the *oldest* clubs, as I think it was formerly one of the *best*, in the King's dominions. It wants but about two years of forty since it was established."

Still later, when in France, he said:

> "You tell me you sometimes visit the ancient Junto. I wish you would do it oftener. I know they all love and

respect you, and regret your absenting yourself so much. People are apt to grow strange, and not understand one another so well, when they meet but seldom. Since we have held that Club till we are grown gray together, let us hold it out to the end. For my own part, I find I love company, chat, a laugh, a glass, and even a song, as well as ever, and at the same time relish better than I used to do the grave observations and wise sentences of old men's conversation; so that I am sure the Junto will be still as agreeable to me as it ever has been. I therefore hope it will not be discontinued as long as we are able to crawl together."

In its most active period, Franklin states in his autobiography:

"Our club, the Junto, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that several were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number, viz., twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observ'd; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those who were against any addition to our number, but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, etc., and without informing them of the connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were, the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what pass'd in his separate club; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading thro' the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto.

"The project was approv'd, and every member undertook to form his club, but they did not all succeed. Five or six only

DR. FRANKLIN.

From the miniature given by Dr. Franklin to his dear friend, Bishop Jonathan Shipley, on parting, on his return from England to America.
In the collection of Augustus J. C. Hare.

were compleated, which were called by different names, as the Vine, the Union, the Band, etc. They were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, beside answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public opinion on particular occasions, of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened."

Another expression of his social impulses in these years is shown by his being one of the organizers of the first masonic society in America, in 1730. In 1732 he was appointed a warden, and in 1734 he was elected grand master, on which occasion "a very elegant Entertainment was provided, and the Proprietor, the Governor, and several other Persons of Distinction honour'd the Society with their Presence."

How, by his exhibitions of electrical phenomena, Franklin's "house was continually full for some time, with people who came to see these new wonders," has already been mentioned, and there were other social incidents, one of which he described as follows:

> "It is proposed to put an end to [our experiments] for this season, somewhat humorously, in a party of pleasure on the banks of the *Skuylkill.* Spirits, at the same time, are to be fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river, without any other conductor than the water; an experiment which we some time since performed to the amazement of many. A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by *electrical shock*, and roasted by the *electrical jack*, before a fire kindled by the *electrified bottle;* when the healths of all the famous electricians in England, Holland, France, and Germany are to be drank in *electrified bumpers*, under the discharge of guns from the *electrical battery*."

His share in the Association, the hospital, the academy, and many other public-spirited affairs brought him into relation with all the prominent folk, and he was socially received by the best. As already told, from these invitations his wife was omitted, and as Franklin for some years dwelt over his shop, and later removed "to a more quiet part of the town," at the corner of Sassafras and Second streets, where he lived "as to the Appearance" "in modest circumstances," there was no attempt to return the civilities in kind. Yet there was a welcome and a homely meal and room for all who chose to come. "Mr. Francis spent last evening with me," Franklin told the future president of King's College, "and we were all glad to hear that you seriously meditate a visit after the middle of next month, and that you will inform us by a line when to expect you. We drank your health and Mrs. Johnson's, remembering your kind entertainment of us in Stratford." There are numerous such casual allusions to visitors in his letters, and always in a way to show that they were boons to the host.

Whenever Franklin traveled, as his concern in the post-office often necessitated, he was the object of the warmest hospitality. Of one visit to the Northern States he said:

> "I left New England slowly, and with great reluctance. Short day's journeys, and loitering visits on the road, for three or four weeks, manifested my unwillingness to quit a country in which I drew my first breath, spent my earliest and most pleasant days, and had now received so many fresh marks of the people's goodness and benevolence, in the kind and affectionate treatment I had everywhere met with. I almost forgot I had a *home*, till I was more than half way towards it; till I had, one by one, parted with all my New England friends, and was got into the western borders of Connecticut, among mere strangers."

Another letter gives a glimpse of social hours in New Jersey and New York:

> "The Corporation were to have a dinner that day at the Point for their entertainment, and prevailed on us to stay. There were all the principal people, and a great many ladies.

> After dinner we set out, and got here before dark. We waited on the governor and on General Amherst yesterday, dined with Lord Sterling, went in the evening to my old friend Mr. Kennedy's funeral, and are to dine with the general to-day."

With the outbreak of the bitter political contests over the proprietary government, the "court" party pronounced an edict of social ostracism against him, and henceforth he was tabooed at such houses as the Allens', Shippens', Norrises', and other aristocratic families. One enemy declared that his friends had generally deserted him, but on his return from his first mission to England Franklin indignantly denied this, writing:

> "Dr. Smith's reports of the diminutions of my friends were all false. My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night, ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection. My fellow citizens, while I was on the sea, had, at the annual election, chosen me unanimously, as they had done every year while I was in England, to be their representative in Assembly, and would, they say, if I had not disappointed them by coming privately to town before they heard of my landing, have met me with 500 horse."

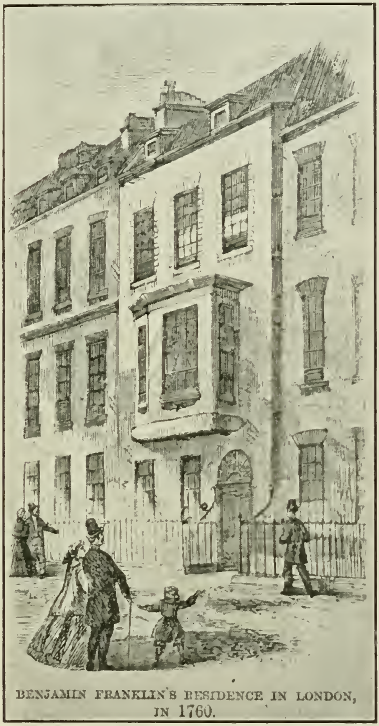
There can be no question that this regard was reciprocated. From Europe he wrote on one occasion: "I thank you for the pleasing account you give me of the health and welfare of my old friends, Hugh Roberts, Luke Morris, Philip Syng, Samuel Rhoads, etc., with the same of yourself and family. Shake the old ones by the hand for me, and give the young ones my blessing." On receiving word of the death of one, he replied: "I regret the loss of my friend Parsons. Death begins to make breaches in the little junto of old friends that he had long forborne, and it must be expected he will now soon pick us all off one after another." When yet another break in his circle came he was grieved " to hear of the death of my good old friend, Dr. Evans. I have lost so many since I left America, that I begin to fear that I shall find myself a stranger among strangers when I return. If so, I must come again to my friends in England." So he found cause for regret in the separation that his long agencies in Great Britain forced upon him.

> "But this exile, though an honorable one," he told a New England friend, "is become grievous to me, in so long a separation from my family, friends, and country; all which you happily enjoy; and long may you continue to enjoy them. I hope for the great pleasure of once more seeing and conversing with you; and, though living on in one's children, as we both may do, is a good thing, I cannot but fancy it might be better to continue living ourselves at the same time. I rejoice, therefore, in your kind intentions of including me in the benefits of that inestimable stone, which, curing all diseases (even old age itself), will enable us to see the future glorious state of our America, enjoying in full security her own liberties, and offering in her bosom a participation of them to all the oppressed of other nations. I anticipate the jolly conversation we and twenty more of our friends may have a hundred years hence on this subject, over that well-replenished bowl at Cambridge Commencement."

Once in England, although he lived simply, in lodgings, he formed a wide and steadily growing circle of friends. In his account of his agency to the Pennsylvania Assembly, he informed that body that

> "I made journeys, partly for the health, and partly that I might, by country visits to persons of influence, have more convenient opportunities of discoursing with them on our

publick affairs, the expense of which journeys was not easily proportion'd and separated. And being myself honour'd with visits from persons of quality and distinction, I was obliged for the credit of the province to live in a fashion and expense, suitable to the publick character I sustain'd, and much above what I should have done if I had been consider'd merely as a private person: and this difference of expense was not easy to distinguish, and charge in my accounts."



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S RESIDENCE IN LONDON, IN 1760.

In the Emmet collection, Lenox Library, New York.

"I have lately made a journey of a fortnight to

Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Manchester," he told a correspondent, "and returned only in time to be at court on the King's birthday, which was yesterday." So visits were made to Bath and other English resorts. Two trips to Cambridge with his son he described as follows:

"We stayed there a week, being entertained with great kindness by the principal people, and shown all the curiosities of the place; and returning by another road to see more of the country, we came again to London. I found the journey advantageous to my health, increasing both my health and spirits, and therefore, as all the great folks were out of town, and public business at a stand, I the more easily prevailed with myself to take another journey, and accept the invitation we had, to be again at Cambridge at the Commencement, the beginning of July. We went accordingly, were present at all the ceremonies, dined every day in their halls, and my vanity was not a little gratified by the particular regard shown me by the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the University and the heads of colleges."

Even more enthusiastically he wrote to Lord Kames of an excursion with his son into Scotland:

"Our conversation, till we came to York, was chiefly a recollection of what we had seen and heard, the pleasures we had enjoyed, and the kindnesses we had received, in Scotland, and how far that country had exceeded our expectations. On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life; and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty has left so pleasing an impression on my memory, that, did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in."

His one grief, so he told his lordship, was that:

"I did not press you and Lady Kames more strongly to favor us with your company farther. How much more agreeable would our journey have been, if we could have enjoyed you as far as York. We could have beguiled the way, by discoursing on a thousand things, that now we may never have an opportunity of considering together; for conversation warms the mind, enlivens the imagination, and is continually starting fresh game, that is immediately pursued and taken, and which would never have occurred in the duller intercourse of epistolary correspondence. So that whenever I reflect on the great pleasure and advantage I received from the free communication of sentiment, in the conversation we had at Kames, and in the agreeable little rides to the Tweed side, I shall for ever regret our premature parting."

Clearly the liking was reciprocal, for not long after he again wrote to Kames:

"Your invitation to make another jaunt to Scotland, and offer to meet us half way *en famille*, was extremely obliging. Certainly I never spent my time anywhere more agreeably, nor have I been in any place where the inhabitants and their conversation left such lastingly pleasing impressions on my mind, accompanied with the strongest inclination once more to visit that hospitable, friendly, and sensible people. The friendship your Lordship in particular honors me with would not, you may be assured, be among the least of my inducements."

He was as good as his word in this, for once again he journeyed northward, a pilgrimage he described to his son as follows:

"In Scotland I spent five days with Lord Kames at his seat, Blair Drummond, near Stirling, two or three days at Glasgow, two days at Carron Iron Works, and the rest of the month in and about Edinburgh, lodging at David Hume's, who entertained me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, as did Lord Kames and his lady. All our old acquaintances there, Sir Alexander Dick and lady, Mr. McGowan, Drs. Robertson, Cullen, Black, Ferguson, Russel, and others, inquired affectionately of your welfare. I was out three months."

Another friend he was fond of visiting was Lord Le Despenser, and on one, if not more occasions, he clearly forgot Poor Richard's warning that "fish and visitors smell in three days," for he told a correspondent that "I spent sixteen days at Lord Le Despencer's most agreeably, and returned in good health and spirits," elsewhere noting, during another stay, that "I am in this house as much at my ease as if it was my own; and the gardens are a paradise. But a pleasanter thing is the kind countenance, the facetious and very intelligent conversation of mine host, who having been for many years engaged in public affairs, seen all parts of Europe, and kept the best company in the world, is himself the best existing."

LORD KAMES.

Yet a third British home to which he always went with especial pleasure was Twyford, the residence of his warm friend Bishop Shipley. "I now breathe with reluctance the smoky air of London," Franklin told him, "when I think of the sweet air of Twyford; and by the time your races are over, or about the middle of next month, if it should not then be unsuitable to your engagements or other purposes, I promise myself the happiness of spending a week or two where I so pleasantly spent the last." And in France he wrote one of the Shipley girls:

> "Your mention of the summer house brings fresh to my mind all the pleasures I enjoyed in the sweet retreat at Twyford: the hours of agreeable and instructive conversation with the amiable family at table; with its father alone; the delightful walks in the gardens and neighboring grounds."

These were specimens of his true intimacies, but there was much social intercourse of a more formal nature. Even to catalogue his friends and visits would be a task of no little magnitude, but an extract from a semi-journal he wrote will best serve to give a slight idea of both, and to show how his time was spent:

> "Returning from Brighthelmstone, I called to visit my friend Mr. Sargent, at his seat, Halstead, in Kent, agreeable to a former engagement. He let me know that he had promised to conduct me to Lord Stanhope's at Chevening, who expected I would call on him when I came into that neighborhood. We accordingly waited on Lord Stanhope that evening, who told me that Lord Chatham desired to see me, and that Mr. Sargent's house, where I was to lodge, being in the way, he would call for me there the next morning, and carry me to Hayes. This was done accordingly. That truly great man received me with abundance of civility. . . . From Hayes I went to Halstead, Mr. Sargent's place, to dine, intending thence to visit Lord Stanhope at Chevening; but hearing that his lordship and the family were in town, I stayed at Halstead all night, and the next morning went to Chisle-

hurst to call upon Lord Camden, it being in my way to town. I met his lordship and family in two carriages just without his gate, going on a visit of congratulation to Lord Chatham and his lady, on the late marriage of their daughter to Lord Mahon, son of Lord Stanhope. They were to be back at dinner; so I agreed to go in, stay to dinner, and spend the evening there, and not return to town till next morning."

It is not to be supposed that there were not enemies as well as friends in these years, and Franklin's social experience with one of these gives an amusing insight into his character and governing principles of conduct. For a number of years the Earl of Hillsborough was Secretary of State for America, and there was a persistent, if veiled, war between him and the colony agent. Yet in Franklin's journey through Ireland,

"Being in Dublin, at the same time with his Lordship, I met with him accidentally at the Lord Lieutenant's, who had happened to invite us to dine with a large company on the same day. . . . He was surprisingly civil, and urged my fellow-travellers and me to call at his house in our intended journey northward, where we might be sure of better accommodations than the inns would afford us. He pressed us so politely that it was not easy to refuse without apparent rudeness, as we must pass through his town, Hillsborough, and by his door . . . We called upon him, and were detained at his house four days, during which time he entertained us with great civility, and a particular attention to me, that appeared the more extraordinary, as I knew that just before we left London he had expressed himself concerning me in very angry terms, calling me a republican, a factious, mischievous fellow, and the like. . . . He seemed attentive to every thing that might make my stay in his house agreeable to me, and put his eldest son, Lord Killwarling, into his phaeton with me, to drive me a round of forty miles, that I might see the country, the seats, and manufactures, covering me with his own greatcoat, lest I should take cold. . . . All which I could not but wonder at. . . . When I had been a little while returned to London, I waited on him to thank him for his civilities in Ireland, and to discourse with him on a Georgia affair. The porter told me he was not at home. I left my card, went another time, and received the same answer, though I knew he was at home, a friend of mine being with him. After intermissions of a week each, I made two more visits, and received the same answer. The last time was on a levee day, when a number of carriages were at his door. My coachman driving up, alighted, and was opening the coach door, when the porter, seeing me, came out and surlily chid the coachman for opening the door before he had inquired whether my Lord was at home; and then turning to me, said, 'My Lord is not at home.' I have never since been nigh him, and we have only abused one another at a distance."

This affront Franklin was presently able to revenge, for he drew up a reply to a report of the secretary, of so convincing a character that the ministry, who desired but an excuse to oust Hillsborough from the cabinet, availed themselves of it to force his resignation. Yet, though the earl knew of this, and "could never forgive me for writing that pamphlet," he still masqued his dislike.

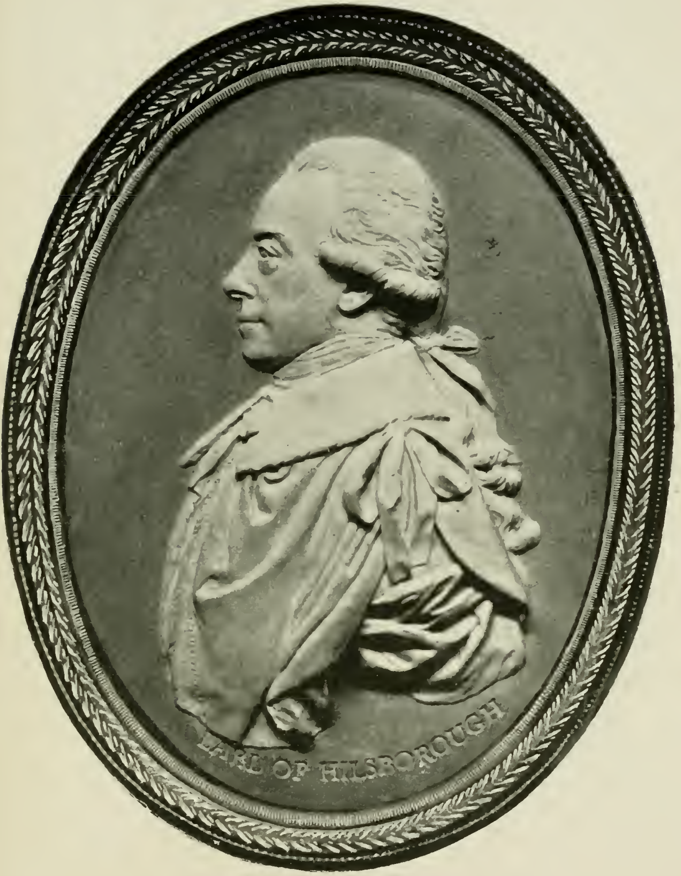
"I went down to Oxford with and at the instance of Lord le Despencer," Franklin relates, "who is on all occasions very good to me, and seems of late very desirous of my company . . . That same day Lord Hillsborough called upon Lord le Despencer, whose chamber and mine were together in Queen's College. I was in the inner room shifting, and heard his voice, but did not see him, as he went down stairs immediately with Lord le Despencer, who mentioning that I was above, he returned directly and came to me in the pleasantest manner imaginable. 'Dr. Franklin,' said he, 'I did not know till this minute that you were here, and I am come back *to make you my bow*. I am glad to see you at Oxford, and that you look so well,' etc. In return for this extravagance, I complimented

> him on his son's performance in the theatre, though indeed it was but indifferent, so that account was settled. For as people say, when they are angry, *If he strikes me, I'll strike him again;* I think sometimes it may be right to say, *If he flatters me, I'll flatter him again.* This is *lex talionis*, returning offences in kind. . . . My quarrel is only with him, who, of all the men I ever met with, is surely the most unequal in his treatment of people, the most insincere, and the most wrongheaded."

The whole episode serves to illustrate two of Poor Richard's worldly-wise remarks: "If any man flatters me, I 'll flatter him again, though he were my best friend," and "He is not well bred, that cannot bear Ill-Breeding in others." It also throws a flood of light on some advice the Earl of Shelburne (later the Marquis of Lansdowne) gave the English negotiator of the treaty of 1783. "Some people in this country," he warned him, "who have too long indulged themselves in abusing every thing American, have been pleased to circulate an opinion that Dr. Franklin is a very cunning man; in answer to which I have remarked to Mr. Oswald: 'Dr. Franklin knows very well how to manage a cunning man; but, when the Doctor converses or treats with a man of candor, there is no man more candid than himself.'"

There was, too, in these years in England more or less intercourse with the diplomatic corps. How the French ambassador sought him out has been elsewhere mentioned, but this was but one instance.

> "Several of the foreign ambassadors," Franklin remarked, "have assiduously cultivated my acquaintance, treating me as one of their *corps*, partly I believe from the desire they have, from time to time, of hearing something of American



EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH, BY FLAXMAN.
From a medallion in possession of Sir J. Lumsden Propert.

affairs, an object become of importance in foreign courts, who begin to hope Britain's alarming power will be diminished by the defection of her colonies; and partly that they may have an opportunity of introducing me to the gentlemen of their country who desire it. The King, too, has lately been heard to speak of me with great regard."

Still another element was club life, not of the kind now termed such, for institutions which have made it possible had not then come into existence. It was then the mode for men to gather daily or weekly at some tavern and eat a dinner together, the expense for food or wine being "clubbed," or shared. When in France his letters to his friends in London often refer to a club he frequented while in England. "Please to present my best respects to our good old friends of the London Coffee-House," he begged one correspondent. "I often figure to myself the pleasure I should have in being once more seated among them." Again he requested: "Please to present my affectionate respects to that honest, sensible, and intelligent society, who did me so long the honor of admitting me to share in their instructive conversations. I never think of the hours I so happily spent in that company, without regretting that they are never to be repeated." "I often think of the agreeable evenings I used to pass with that excellent collection of good men," he told one of the members, "the club at the *London*, and wish to be again among them. Perhaps I may pop in some Thursday evening when they least expect me." One letter he ended "with a heartfelt wish to embrace you once more, and enjoy your sweet society in peace, among our honest, worthy, ingenious friends at the *London*."

Nor was the regard one-sided, for a member informed him that "The honest Whig Club drank your health very affectionately."

In sailing away from Great Britain, David Hume assured Franklin that "I am very sorry that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, &c., but you are the first philosopher, and indeed the first great man of letters, for whom we are beholden to her. It is our own fault that we have not kept him; whence it appears that we do not agree with Solomon, that wisdom is above gold, for we take care never to send back an ounce of the latter which we once lay our fingers upon." The regret was quite as strong on the part of the voyager, for in departing he declared that:

> "I fancy I feel a little like dying saints, who, in parting with those they love in this world, are only comforted with the hope of more perfect happiness in the next. I have, in America, connexions of the most engaging kind; and, happy as I have been in the friendships here contracted, *those* promise me greater and more lasting felicity."

"Upon the whole," he said on another occasion, "I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish it prosperity; and therefore wish to see that union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established." As in his circle of friends in Philadelphia, he outlived the most of his intimates in Great Britain, and in his last years heard with grief of one more break.

"The departure of my dearest friend, which I learn from your last letter, greatly affects me. To meet her once more in this life was one of the principal motives of my proposing to visit England again, before my return to America. The last year carried off my friends, Dr. Pringle, Dr. Fothergill, Lord Kames, and Lord le Despencer. This has begun to take away the rest, and strikes the hardest. Thus the ties I had to that country, and indeed to the world in general, are loosened one by one, and I shall soon have no attachment left to make me unwilling to follow."

It was in France, however, that his greatest social success was achieved. Twice while in Great Britain as a colony agent he had made trips to Paris, and among the scientists there had made a wide circle of friends and been won by the charm of the people. "The civilities we everywhere receive," he told an English friend, "give us the strongest impressions of the French politeness. It seems to be a point settled here universally, that strangers are to be treated with respect; and one has just the same deference shown one here by being a stranger, as in England by being a lady." On his return to England, he could not but look back on "the time I spent in Paris, and in the improving conversation and agreeable society of so many ingenious and learned men, [which] seems now to me like a pleasing dream, from which I was only to be awakened by finding myself at London." "Would to God," he exclaimed, in speaking of his intended return to America, "I could take with me Messrs. Dupont, Dubourg, and some other French friends with their good ladies! I might then, by mixing them with my friends in Philadelphia, form a little happy society that would prevent my ever wishing again to visit Europe."

Nor was it only in the scientific circles that he made acquaintances, and the fame of his electrical experiments even secured him an invitation to the French court.

> "You see," he wrote Miss Stevenson, "I speak of the Queen as if I had seen her; and so I have, for you must know I have been at court. We went to Versailles last Sunday, and had the honor of being presented to the King. He spoke to both of us very graciously and very cheerfully, is a handsome man, has a very lively look, and appears younger than he is. In the evening we were at the *Grand Couvert*, where the family sup in public. The table was half a hollow square, the service gold. When either made a sign for drink the word was given by one of the waiters: *A boire pour le Roi*, or, *A boire pour la Reine.* Then two persons came from within, the one with wine and the other with water in *carafes.* Each drank a little glass of what he brought, and then put both the *carafes* with a glass on a salver, and then presented it. Their distance from each other was such as that other chairs might have been placed between any two of them. An officer of the court brought us up through the crowd of spectators, and placed Sir John [Pringle] so as to stand between the Queen and Madame Victoire. The King talked a good deal to Sir John, asking many questions about our royal family, and did me, too, the honor of taking some notice of me; that is saying enough."

When Franklin came to France, therefore, as a commissioner from the Continental Congress, it was to a people not merely eager to espouse his country's cause, but already somewhat acquainted with the man. From the moment he landed, and before it was even known what attitude the court would take toward him, the lionizing began. A welcoming ball was given him at Nantes, where he noted that "there were no [women's] heads less than five, and a few were seven lengths of the face above the top of the forehead"; but as he journeyed toward Paris, he was persuaded to pause long enough to dine at the Duc de Rochefoucauld's, "where there were duchesses and a countess," he remarked, "no head higher than a face and a half. So, it seems, the farther from court the more extravagant the mode." This entertaining was forced upon him before the object of his mission was divulged; but "I find it generally supposed here that I am sent to negotiate; and that opinion appears to give great pleasure, if I can judge by the extreme civilities I meet with from numbers of the principal people who have done me the honor to visit me."

Once in Paris, although not openly recognized by the court in his diplomatic capacity, every one united to show him honor and courtesy. As already quoted, he assured his sister that "the account you have had of the vogue I am in here has some truth in it. Perhaps few strangers in France have had the good fortune to be so universally popular." To his daughter he remarked:

"The clay medallion of me you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set in the lids of snuff-boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts, and prints (of which copies upon copies are spread everywhere), have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do any thing that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. It is said by learned etymologists that the name *doll*, for the images children play with, is derived from the word IDOL. From the number of *dolls* now made of him, he may be truly said, *in that sense*, to be *i-doll-ized* in this country."

"Figure me in your mind," he asked a friend, "as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older; very plainly dressed, wearing my thin, gray, straight hair, that peeps out under my only *coiffure*, a fine fur cap, which comes down my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear

LOUIS ALEXANDRE, DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, DEPUTY FROM THE CITY OF PARIS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN 1789.

From a drawing by J. Guerin.

among the powdered heads of Paris!" Yet it was in vain that the British ambassador sought to throw ridicule on the new envoy. "I . . . talk of him in a Ludicrous Manner, and sometimes say, for Instance, that the effect of his Fur Cap seems to be worn out, and that I observe he is less talked of since the arrival of Piccini, the famous Italian Composer." To his principal, however, he told another story: "That Physician du Bourg, whom your Lordship has heard of, sent Cards all over Paris, testifying to his acquaintance the arrival of Doctor Franklin. I have already observed to your Lordship, that Numbers of People resort to Him, (Franklin), but there are very few Persons of Condition among them." Then, as if to complete the "Stormont," he acknowledged that from the first the Duc de Choiseul and his "Party" took "Franklin by the Hand" and "openly espouse the cause of the Rebels," and that the newcomer had formed a "great Intimacy" with the Duc de Chartres. "I live here in great respect," Franklin himself said to a friend, "and dine every day with great folks; but I still long for home and for repose, and should be happy to eat Indian pudding in your company, and under your hospitable roof." When John Adams, for a time his fellow-commissioner, joined him in Paris and lived with him, he shared in this unending hospitality, and recorded in his journal that "Invitations were sent to Dr. Franklin and me, every day in the week, to dine in some great or small company." A complete chronicle of his social hours would be impossible, but a glimpse here and there may well be taken. From the diary of John Adams are extracted the following, to show some of the entertainments accepted by the two commissioners:

"Dr. Franklin presented to me the compliments of M. Turgot, late comptroller of the finance, and his invitation to dine with him. Went with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, and dined in company with the Duchess d'Enville, the mother of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and twenty of the great people of France."

"Dined with M. Chalut, one of the farmers-general. We were shown into the most superb gallery that I have yet seen. The paintings, statues, and curiosities, were innumerable. The old Marshal Richelieu dined there, and a vast number of other great company. After dinner, M. Chalut invited Dr. Franklin and me to go to the opera, and take a seat in his *logis*. We did. The music and dancing were very fine."

"Dined at home with a great deal of company. Went after dinner to see the Misanthrope of Molière, with Mr. Amiel; it was followed by the Heureusement."

"Dined at M. Bertin's, the Secretary of State, at his seat in the country. Dr. Franklin, his grandson, and I, rode with Madame Bertin, the niece of the minister, in her voiture with four horses."

"This day I had the honor to dine with the Prince de Tingry, Duc de Beaumont, of the illustrious house of Montmorency."

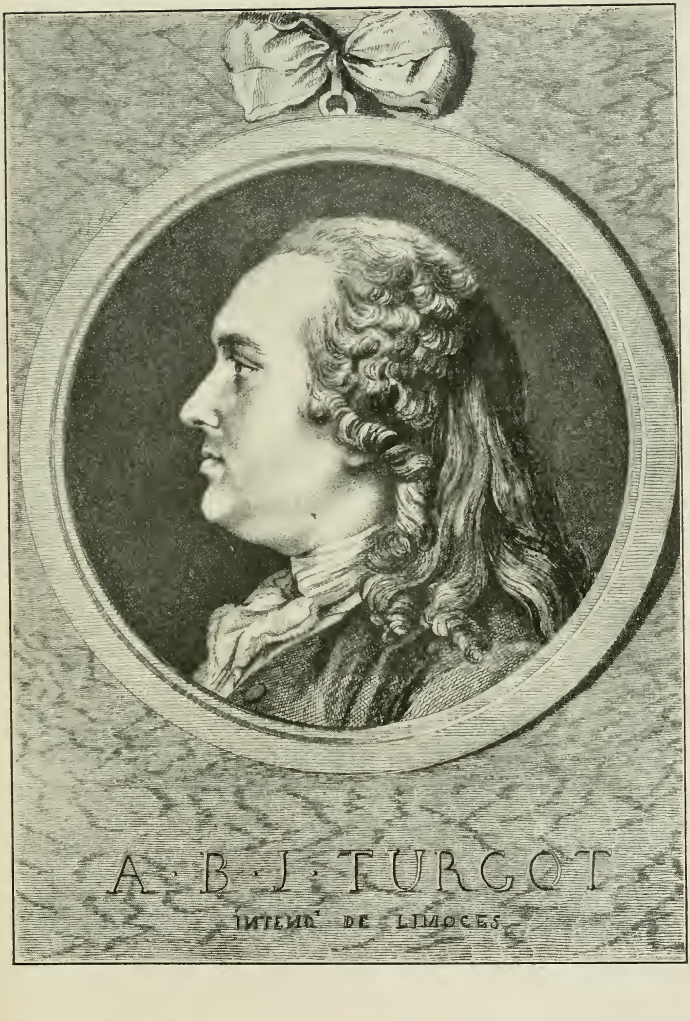
"[Went to] the *Concert Spirituel* . . . in the Royal Garden, where was an infinite number of gentlemen and ladies walking. Dined with the Duchess d'Enville, at her house, with her daughter and grand-daughter, dukes, abbots, &c. &c. &c."

"Dined with the Marshal de Maillebois, with a great deal of company. Here also we were shown the marshal's *amie*, seated at the table with all his great company. . . . I could say but little, but I understood her as well as any one I had heard in French. It appeared to me that the marshal had chosen her rather for her wit and sense, than personal charms."

"Dined with the Marshal de Mouchy, with the Duke and Duchess d'Ayen, their daughter, the Marquise de Lafayette, the Viscountess de Maillebois, her sister, another sister unmarried, the Prussian ambassador, an Italian ambassador, and a great deal of other great company."

One offset there was to the complete enjoyment of dining out, for, groaning at the innumerable applications of officers to him for employment, Franklin complained that " I am afraid to accept an invitation to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer or officer's friend, who, as soon as I am put in good humour by a glass or two of champagne, begins his attack upon me."

Until France recognized American independence the negotiators could not be received at court or by the ministry; but once the treaty of amity and commerce was signed, they became fully recognized diplomatic agents, and the hitherto closed official doors were thrown open to them. The whole court, at the first function Franklin attended, united to heap attention and distinction upon him, and from that time, as if to make up for the brief period of non-recognition, he was shown the utmost honor, being bidden to the greatest and most exclusive affairs, even to those given to royalty itself. He describes an opera given to a royal prince, at which he was present, where, " The house being richly finished with abundance of carving and gilding, well illuminated with wax tapers, and the company all superbly dressed, many of the men in cloth of tissue, and the ladies sparkling with diamonds, formed altogether the most splendid spectacle my eyes ever beheld." In Adams's diary is a reference to one ministerial dinner they went to, given by Vergennes: " There was a full


A·B·J·TURGOT
INTEND^{T} DE LIMOGES

table; no ladies but the Countess. The Count's brother, the ambassador who lately signed the treaty with Switzerland, Mr. Garnier, the late Secretary to the Embassy in England, and many others,—dukes, and bishops, and counts, &c."

All these courtesies involved recognition, and Franklin seems to have been, when able, fairly regardful of his social duties. For only a few weeks of his many years in Paris does he seem to have kept a diary, but that little reveals him as doing conscientiously the required courtesies. One afternoon's doings will suffice: "Went to Paris to visit Princess Daschkaw; not at home. Visit Prince and Princess Masserano. . . . Visit Duke de Rochefoucauld and Madame la Duchesse d'Enville. Visit Messrs. Dana and Searle; not at home. Leave invitations to dine with me on Sunday. Visit Comte d'Estaing; not at home. Mr. Turgot; not at home."

In one respect he refused to go through the conventional forms. Although the recognition of the United States gave Franklin full diplomatic status with the French court, his fellow-ambassadors, whose governments had not yet acknowledged the new country, necessarily could not accept him as one of their corps. By "good luck" the American minister heard that they had come to the decision not to "return the visits I should make them (as they supposed) when I was first received here as Minister Plenipotentiary, and disappointed their project by visiting none of them. In my private opinion, the first civility is due from the old resident to the stranger and new-comer. My opinion, indeed, is good for nothing against custom, which I should have obeyed, but for the circumstances, that rendered it more prudent to avoid disputes and affronts, though at the hazard of being thought rude or singular."

Out of this anomalous situation came an incident "ridiculous enough," which caused the envoy not a little amusement, and which he narrated as follows:

"The Count du Nord, who is son of the Empress of Russia, arriving at Paris, ordered, it seems, cards of visit to be sent to all the foreign ministers. One of them, on which was written, '*Le Comte du Nord et le Prince Bariatinski*,' was brought to me. It was on Monday evening last. Being at court the next day, I inquired of an old minister, my friend, what was the etiquette, and whether the Count received visits. The answer was: '*Non; on se fait ecrire; voila tout*.' This is done by passing the door and ordering your name to be written on the porter's book. Accordingly, on Wednesday I passed the house of Prince Bariatinski, Ambassador of Russia, where the Count lodged, and left my name on the list of each. I thought no more of the matter; but this day, May the 24th, comes the servant who brought the card, in great affliction, saying he was like to be ruined by his mistake in bringing the card here, and wishing to obtain from me some paper, of I know not what kind, for I did not see him.

"In the afternoon came my friend, M. Le Roy, who is also the friend of the Prince's, telling me how much he, the Prince, was concerned at the accident, that both himself and the Count had great personal regard for me and my character, but that, our independence not yet being acknowledged by the court of Russia, it was impossible for him to permit himself to make me a visit as minister. I told M. Le Roy it was not my custom to seek such honors, though I was very sensible of them when conferred upon me; that I should not have voluntarily intruded a visit, and that, in this case, I had only done what I was informed the etiquette required of me; but if it would be attended with any inconvenience to Prince Bariatinski, whom I much esteemed and respected, I thought

> the remedy was easy; he had only to erase my name out of his book of visits received, and I would burn their card."

The offer was accepted, and the nameless danger thus avoided. At the next attendance at court Franklin noted that the prince "was particularly civil to me, . . . apologised for what passed relating to the visit, expressed himself extremely sensible of my friendship in covering the affair, which might have occasioned him very disagreeable consequences."

A diplomatic entanglement of much the same character, though of very different conclusion, occurred when the Emperor Joseph of Austria came to Paris in 1777. He earnestly desired to make Franklin's acquaintance, but without giving it any political significance. The minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany accordingly wrote the famous American:

> "L'abbé Niccole prie Monsieur franklin de lui faire l'honneur de venir dejeuner chés luy Mercredy matin 28 de ce mois à 9 heures du matin. Il luy donnera une bonne tasse de chocolat."

Verbally he informed Franklin that the "intention . . . was to give the Emperor an opportunity of an interview with" him, but, owing to an accident, this meeting did not take place. Eventually they were brought together, and Jefferson relates something concerning one of their encounters:

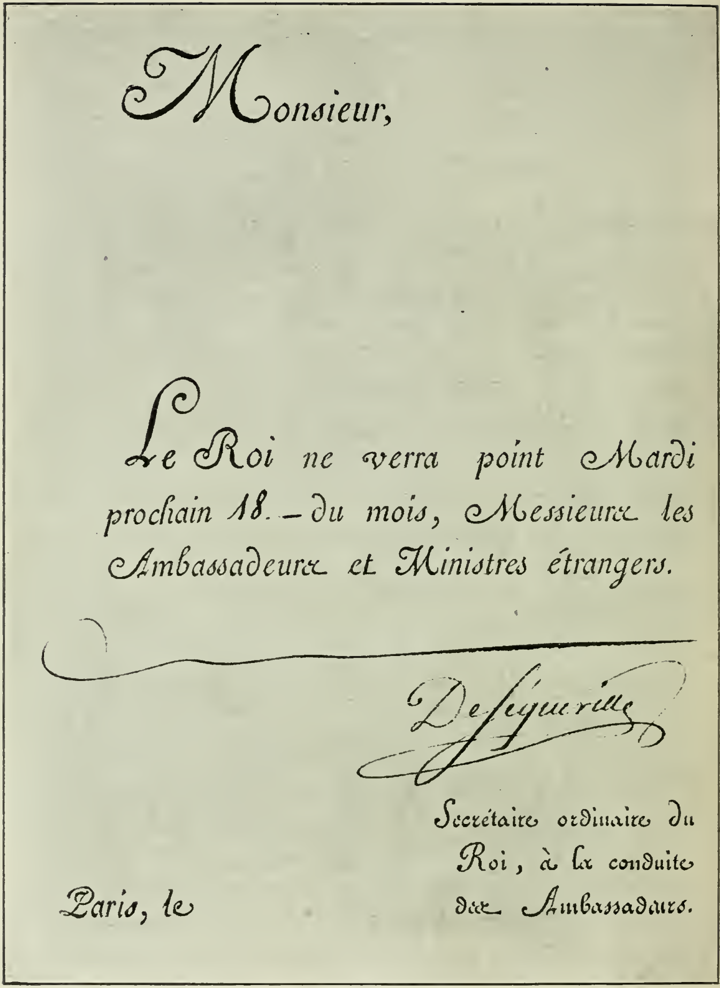
> "When Dr. Franklin went to France, on his revolutionary mission, his eminence as a philosopher, his venerable appearance, and the cause on which he was sent, rendered him extremely popular, for all ranks and conditions of men there entered warmly into the American interest. He was, there-

fore, feasted and invited to all the court parties. At these he sometimes met the old Duchess of Bourbon, who, being a chess player of about his force, they very generally played together. Happening once to put her king into prize, the Doctor took it. 'Ah,' says she, 'we do not take kings so.' 'We do in America,' said the Doctor. At one of these parties the emperor Joseph II. then at Paris, incog., under the title of Count Falkenstein, was overlooking the game in silence, while the company was engaged in animated conversations on the American question. 'How happens it, M. le Comte,' said the Duchess, 'that while we all feel so much interest in the cause of the Americans, you say nothing for them?' 'I am a king by trade,' said he."

With pardonable pride the self-made man, speaking of his father's having, "among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men,'" remarked that "I did not think that I should ever literally *stand before kings*, which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before *five*, and even had the honor of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner."

Greatly in demand as the minister was for formal entertaining, there was as well a *vie intime*, which has been more or less referred to already, and which his recurrent attacks of the gout tended to foster. Of this life he has left a pleasant picture in his "Dialogue with the Gout," in which the disease accuses him of the following conduct:

"GOUT. Let us examine your course of life. While the mornings are long, and you have leisure to go abroad, what do you do? Why, instead of gaining an appetite for breakfast, by salutary exercise, you amuse yourself with books, pamphlets, or newspapers, which commonly are not worth the



Monsieur,

Le Roi ne verra point Mardi prochain 18. – du mois, Messieurs les Ambassadeurs et Ministres étrangers.

De Sequeville

Secrétaire ordinaire du Roi, à la conduite des Ambassadeurs.

Paris, le

FRANKLIN'S NOTICE CONCERNING THE FRENCH COURT.

From the original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

reading. Yet you eat an inordinate breakfast, four dishes of tea, with cream, and one or two buttered toasts, with slices of hung beef, which I fancy are not things the most easily digested. Immediately afterward you sit down to write at your desk, or converse with persons who apply to you on business. Thus the time passes till one, without any kind of bodily exercise. But all this I could pardon, in regard, as you say, to your sedentary condition. But what is your practice after dinner? Walking in the beautiful gardens of those friends with whom you have dined, would be the choice of men of sense: yours is, to be fixed down to chess, where you are found engaged for two or three hours! This is your perpetual recreation, which is the least eligible of any for a sedentary man, because, instead of accelerating the motion of the fluids, the rigid attention it requires helps to retard the circulation and obstruct internal secretions. Wrapt in the speculations of this wretched game, you destroy your constitution. What can be expected from such a course of living, but a body replete with stagnant humors, ready to fall a prey to all kinds of dangerous maladies, if I, the gout, did not occasionally bring you relief by agitating these humors, and so purifying or dissipating them? If it was in some nook or alley in Paris, deprived of walks, that you played awhile at chess after dinner, this might be excusable; but the same taste prevails with you in Passy, Auteuil, Montmartre, or Sanoy, places where there are the finest gardens and walks, a pure air, beautiful women, and most agreeable and instructive conversation; all which you might enjoy by frequenting the walks. But these are rejected for this abominable game of chess. Fie, then, Mr. Franklin! But amidst my instructions, I had almost forgot to administer my wholesome corrections: so take that twinge—and that.

"FRANKLIN. Oh! Eh! Oh! Ohhh! As much instructions as you please, Madam Gout, and as many reproaches; but pray, Madam, a truce with your corrections! . . .

"GOUT. Do you remember how often you have promised yourself, the following morning, a walk in the grove of Boulogne, in the garden de la Muette, or in your own garden, and have violated your promise, alleging, at one time, it was too cold, at another too warm, too windy, too moist, or what else you pleased; when in truth it was too nothing, but your insuperable love of ease?

"FRANKLIN. That I confess may have happened occasionally, probably ten times in a year.

"GOUT. Your confession is very far short of the truth; the gross amount is one hundred and ninety-nine times.

"FRANKLIN. Is it possible?

"GOUT. So possible that it is fact; you may rely on the accuracy of my statement. You know Mr. Brillon's gardens, and what fine walks they contain: you know the handsome flight of an hundred steps, which lead from the terrace above to the lawn below. You have been in the practice of visiting this amiable family twice a-week after dinner, and as it is a maxim of your own, that 'a man may take as much exercise in walking a mile up and down stairs, as in ten on level ground,' what an opportunity was here for you to have had exercise in both these ways! Did you embrace it, and how often?

"FRANKLIN. I cannot immediately answer that question.

"GOUT. I will do it for you; not once.

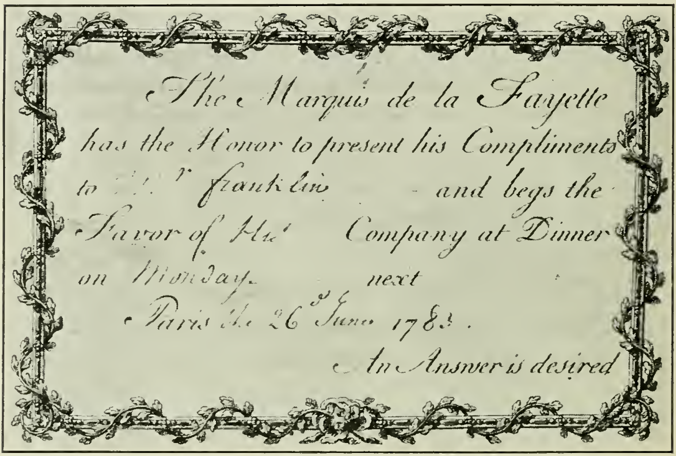
"FRANKLIN. Not once?

"GOUT. Even so. During the summer you went there at six o'clock. You found the charming lady, with her lovely children and friends, eager to walk with you, and entertain you with their agreeable conversation; and what has been your choice? Why, to sit on the terrace, satisfying yourself with the fine prospect, and passing your eye over the beauties of the garden below, without taking one step to descend and walk about in them. On the contrary, you call for tea and the chess-board; and lo! you are occupied in your seat till nine o'clock, and that besides two hours' play after dinner; and then, instead of walking home, which would have bestirred you a little, you step into your carriage. How absurd to suppose that all this carelessness can be reconcilable with health, without my interposition!

"FRANKLIN. I am convinced now of the justness of Poor Richard's remark, that 'Our debts and our sins are always greater than we think for.'"

It was in Paris, or rather in the suburb of Passy, that for the first time Franklin was situated so as to entertain. John Adams, who lived for a time with him, describes the place: "I determined to put my country to no further expense on my account, but to take my lodgings under the same roof with Dr. Franklin, and to use no other equipage than his, if I could avoid it. This house was called the Basse cour de Monsieur Le Ray de Chaumont, which was, to be sure, not a title of great dignity for the mansion of ambassadors, though they were no more than American ambassadors. Nevertheless, it had been nothing less than the famous Hotel de Valentinois, with a motto on the door, 'Se sta bene, non si muove.'" From an Englishman, who came to the minister with a letter of introduction, it is further learned that "His house was delightfully situated, and seems very spacious; and he seemed to have a great number of domestics. We sent up the letter, and were then shown up into his bedchamber, where he sat in his nightgown, his feet wrapped up in flannels and resting on a pillow, he having for three or four days been much afflicted with the gout and the gravel." Franklin himself, in answer to a question from a correspondent, said: "You wish to know how I live. It is in a fine house, situated in a neat village, on high ground, half a mile from Paris, with a large garden to walk in. I have abundance of acquaintance, dine abroad six days in seven. Sundays I reserve to dine at home, with such Americans as pass this way, and I then have my grandson Ben, with some other American children from the school."

In Miss Adams's journal are brief accounts of two of these dinners: "To-day we have dined with Dr. Franklin," she wrote of one; "there was a large company: our family, the Marquis de la Fayette and lady, Lord Mount Morris, an Irish volunteer, Dr. Jeffries, Mr. Paul Jones . . . We had a sumptuous dinner." Of the second she said: "Dined to-day at Dr. Franklin's; the whole company were Americans, except an old man, Monsieur Brillon, who is a friend of the Dr., and who came as he said, 'à demander un diné à Père Franklin.'" A description of yet a third of these dinners has been preserved by Jefferson:



The Marquis de la Fayette
has the Honor to present his Compliments
to Dr franklin and begs the
Favor of His Company at Dinner
on Monday next
Paris the 26th June 1783.
An Answer is desired

DINNER INVITATION OF LAFAYETTE TO FRANKLIN.
From the original in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

"The Doctor . . . had a party to dine with him one day at Passy, of whom one half were Americans, the other half French, and among the last was the Abbé [Raynal]. During the dinner he got on his favorite theory of the degeneracy of animals, and even of man, in America, and urged it with his usual eloquence. The Doctor at length noticing the accidental stature and position of his guests, at table, 'Come,' says he, 'M. l'Abbé, let us try this question by the fact before us. We are here one half Americans, and one half French, and it happens that the Americans have placed themselves on one side of the table, and our French friends are on the other. Let both parties rise, and we will see on which side nature has degenerated.' It happened that his American guests were Carmichael, Harmer, Humphreys, and others of the finest stature and form; while those of the other side were remarkably diminutive, and the Abbé himself, particularly, was a mere shrimp. He parried the appeal, however, by a complimentary admission of exceptions, among which the Doctor himself was a conspicuous one."

This open hospitality excited some criticism in America, and Franklin was warned that "Our too liberal entertainment of our countrymen here has been reported at home by our guests, and has given offence." "They must be contented for the future," he therefore said, "as I am, with plain beef and pudding. The readers of Connecticut newspapers ought not to be troubled with any more accounts of our extravagance. For my own part, if I could sit down to dinner on a piece of their excellent salt pork and pumpkin, I would not give a farthing for all the luxuries of Paris." Apparently the decision was to his physical, if not to his jovial, advantage, for John Adams mentions that "Franklin has broke up the practice of inviting everybody to dine with him on Sunday, at Passy; [and] he is getting better; the gout left him weak; but he begins to sit at table." An amusing contrast to one of the great dinners that Franklin and Adams attended is supplied by Adams, who records that he "came home and supped with Dr. Franklin on cheese and beer."

Franklin's rules of conduct in society were well fitted to make him popular.

> "The Wit of Conversation," he remarked, "consists more in finding it in others, than shewing a great deal yourself. He who goes out of your Company pleased with his own Facetiousness and Ingenuity, will the sooner come into it again. Most men had rather *please* than *admire* you, and seek less to be *instructed* and *diverted*, than *approved* and *applauded*, and it is certainly the most delicate Sort of Pleasure, to *please another*."

"The great secret of succeeding in conversation," he said on another occasion, "is to admire little, to hear much; always to distrust our own reason, and sometimes that of our friends; never to pretend to wit, but to make that of others appear as much as possibly we can; to hearken to what is said, and to answer to the purpose." In one of his bagatelles, "The Handsome and the Deformed Leg," he described the "two sorts of people in the world, who, with equal degrees of health and wealth, become, the one happy, and the other miserable," and the need society has for protecting itself from the latter class.

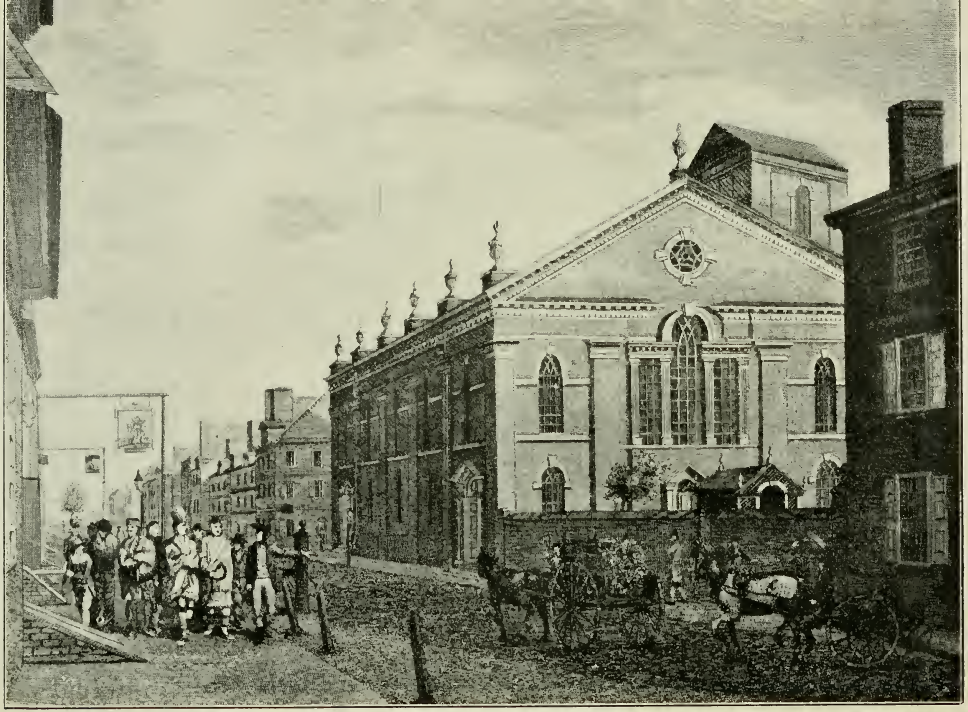
> "An old philosophical friend of mine was grown," he declared, "from experience, very cautious in this particular, and carefully avoided any intimacy with such people. He had, like other philosophers, a thermometer to show him the heat of the weather, and a barometer to mark when it was likely to prove good or bad; but there being no instrument invented to discover, at first sight, this unpleasing disposition in a person, he for that purpose made use of his legs, one of which was remarkably handsome, the other, by some accident, crooked and deformed. If a stranger, at the first interview,

regarded his ugly leg more than his handsome one, he doubted him. If he spoke of it, and took no notice of the handsome leg, that was sufficient to determine my philosopher to have no further acquaintance with him. Everybody has not this two-legged instrument; but every one, with a little attention, may observe signs of that carping, fault-finding disposition, and take the same resolution of avoiding the acquaintance of those infected with it."

"It was one of the rules which, above all others, made Dr. Franklin the most amiable of men in society," Jefferson related, "'never to contradict anybody.' If he was urged to announce an opinion, he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information, or by suggesting doubts." "He was friendly and agreeable in conversation," Miss Logan states, "which he suited to his company, appearing to wish to benefit his hearers. I could readily believe that he heard nothing of consequence himself but what he turned to the account he desired, and in his turn profited by the conversation of others." It is little wonder that an eye-witness reports that "When he left Passy, it seemed as if the village had lost its patriarch." Nor was the break felt on one side alone, and Franklin wrote from America that he could not "forget Paris, and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of a people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing, and who, above all the nations of the world, have, in the greatest perfection, the art of making themselves beloved by strangers. And now, even in my sleep, I find that the scenes of all my pleasant dreams are laid in that city, or in its neighborhood."

Manasseh Cutler, who called upon Franklin in his

Philadelphia home in 1787, draws a pleasant picture of his last years. "Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street," he states, "between Second and Third Streets, but his house stands up a court-yard at some distance from the street. We found him in his Garden, sitting upon a grass plat under a very large Mulberry, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who has been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America. But a man who stood first in the literary world, and had spent so many years in the Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined Court of France, I conceived would not be of very easy access, and must certainly have much of the air of grandeur and majesty about him. Common folks must expect only to gaze at him at a distance, and answer such questions as he might please to ask. In short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European Monarch. But how were my ideas changed, when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under the tree, and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank, and pleasing. He instantly reminded me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly of his pitch, and no more of the air of superiority about him. I delivered him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and, with the



ZION SOCIETY LUTHERAN CHURCH, FORMERLY AT THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF FOURTH AND CHENEY STREETS, PHILADELPHIA, WHERE FRANKLIN'S FUNERAL SERVICE WAS HELD.

After a print by Birch.

usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen of the company, who were most of them members of the Convention. Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably until it was dark. The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, a very gross and rather homely lady, who is the only daughter of the Doctor and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her, over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared to be excessively fond of their Grandpapa."

Franklin himself has left an equally pleasant description of this closing period of his life:

> "I have found my family here in health, good circumstances, and well respected by their fellow-citizens. The companions of my youth are indeed almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from *ennui*, and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and *cribbage*. Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my house stands, into grass plots and gravel walks, with trees and flowering shrubs. Cards we sometimes play here, in long winter evenings; but it is as [in France] they play at chess, not for money, but for honor, or the pleasure of beating one another. This will not be quite a novelty to you, as you may remember we played together in that manner during the winter at Passy. I have indeed now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly; but another reflection comes to relieve me, whispering: '*You know that the soul is immortal; why then should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?*' So, being easily convinced, and, like other reasonable creatures, satisfied with a small reason, when it is in favor of doing what I have a mind to, I shuffle the cards again, and begin another game."

To a friend he wrote: "We loved and still love one another; we are grown gray together, and yet it is too early to part. Let us sit till the evening of life is spent. The last hours are always the most joyous. When we can stay no longer, it is time enough then to bid each other good night, separate, and go quietly to bed."

FRANKLIN BURIAL PLOT IN CHRIST CHURCH CEMETERY, PHILADELPHIA.

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